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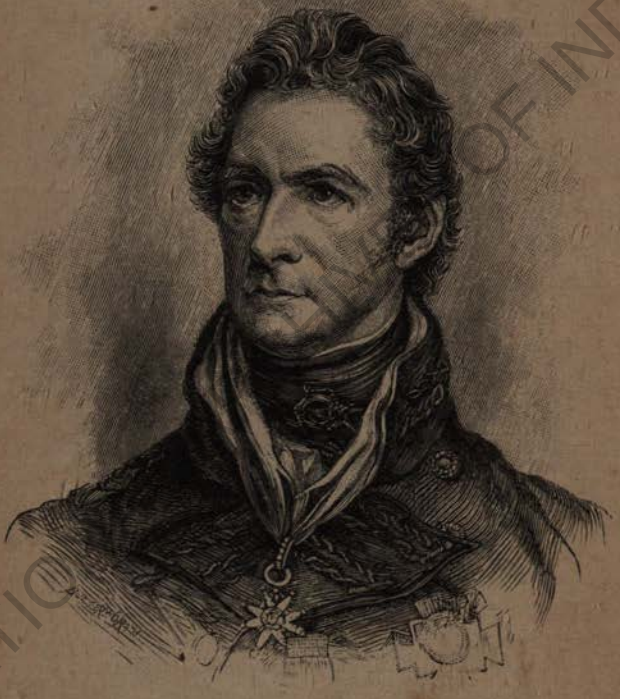

SIR THOMAS MUNRO

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF INDIA

Heroes

OF OUR

Indian Empire

VOLUME I.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

HENRY MORRIS,

Indian Civil Service, Retired,

Author of *The Life of Charles Grant; The Life of John Murdoch; The Governors-General of India;* etc.

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PREFACE.

THE subject of English rule in India is just now very prominent. The best reply to those who depreciate it, is to point to the lives and acts of the men who have done most for the welfare and the happiness of the Indian people. The following pages show what Englishmen have done for that country. They gave it their lives and their love; and we believe that those at present in authority entertain the same feelings.

We have tried to write in a clear and simple style suited to readers who are unacquainted with India, in the hope that they may be induced to take an interest in its fascinating history. For this reason we have, as far as possible, avoided the use of purely Indian words and phrases, and employed in their stead the nearest English equivalents.

Much has recently been said, we believe most unjustly, against the Civil administration of India. Perfect strangers to the East, after a brief visit during the cold weather, imagine that they know a great deal better how to rule it than those who have spent their lives in the government of the country. No more satisfactory antidote to this marvellous infatuation can be administered than these narratives.

We have also given brief memoirs of men who in other capacities have laboured for the welfare of India. The memory of them all is fragrant in the land, and their

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lives should be an inducement to the younger members of the Services to emulate their example.

It will be observed that all these Heroes of Our Indian Empire were distinguished by their love for the people and their sympathy with them. The present unrest in India is very largely attributable to erroneous utterances by ill-informed men in England. We believe that those who have had long experience in that country, and have seen much of the people in their official capacity, appreciate them most. We would particularly draw the attention of the younger members of the Civil Service to the excellent remarks on this subject made by Sir John Malcolm, a copy of which used to be presented to each young Civilian on arriving at Madras, and they ought to be read and remembered by every one now in the Service.

Indians at present enjoy far more authority in the Government of British India than they have ever had. It is a time of waiting. Their future depends on the way in which they exercise the trust committed to them. India requires the services only of her noblest and most high-minded sons, and all who wish her welfare should be careful not to listen to the exhortations of European demagogues; but should rather regard the mature wisdom, the more perfect knowledge, and the unselfish counsel of men like those whose lives have here been briefly recorded.

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HEROES

OF OUR

INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO:

THE FRIEND OF THE INDIAN RYOT.

A.D. 1780—1827.

"Not such the lives of England's nobler sons,
Who govern Ind as in high Heaven's sight;
No more by flashing swords and flaming guns,
But by the changeless law of Truth and Right,
That gift of peace from England's hand of might;
Right worthily these men fulfil their part,
Though human error oft may dim their light,
Yet firm their purpose, fixed each honest heart
To do its work aright, life's noblest, truest art."

The Pilgrim of India.

THOMAS MUNRO, one of the soundest of the early Anglo-Indian statesmen and the best friend of the

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Indian ryot or peasant, was born at Glasgow on May 27, 1761. He was the son of a merchant of that city, who was at one time in easy circumstances, but who subsequently, owing to failures in business, was reduced to comparative poverty. Thomas was an athletic, good-tempered, pleasing boy; and at an early age, while in a mercantile office, showed his perseverance and aptitude for acquiring languages by learning Spanish in order to read Don Quixote in the original. Receiving a cadetship in the East India Company's service, he left Scotland for India, and landed at Madras on January 15, 1780. Neither his father nor he was able to pay the expenses of the passage, so he obtained permission of the Captain of the vessel to work it out as one of the men before the mast—a rare act of self-denial and devotion with which to begin his career.

Munro's early letters give a very interesting and amusing description of the life of a young cadet in India at the close of the eighteenth century. His pay was about £3 a month, and he had to economize a good deal to live on it. He said, however, that he did. He was robbed by one of the crowd of servants who came on board the ship on arrival, seeking for victims, and it was fully six months before he recovered from this loss, and could save enough money to buy a few suits of linen. He told his sister a few years later that he had never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, till he came to India. "Since then," he wrote, "I have frequently met with the first three, and the last has been my constant companion. I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of

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canvas, stretched on four cross-sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. This bed served me till Alexander (his brother) went to Bengal, when he gave me a Europe camp-couch. On this great occasion I bought a pillow and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillow-cases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I laid my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with moderation. I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose I bought two table-spoons, and two tea-spoons, and another chair—for I had but one before—a table, and two table-cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for, in less than three months, I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken. This great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain. My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been able to keep it all of a piece. It grows tattered in one quarter, while I am establishing funds to repair it in another; and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try on a new waistcoat."

There was good reason for this economy. When he was writing the above reminiscences to his sister, he had been nearly three years a lieutenant, his pay being about £11 a month. Their filial affection had induced his brother Alexander and him to remit £100 a year to their father, who, on account of the American war, had

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fallen into greater pecuniary difficulties than he was in when Munro left England. "The only cause I have for repining," he wrote to his mother, "is my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune."

During the war with Hyder, and after it, Munro was moved from regiment to regiment, and saw a great deal of the country from Madura in the south to Vizagapatam in the north-east. He walked in every march he took. "My travelling expeditions," he said, "have never been performed with much grandeur or ease. My only conveyance is an old horse, who is now so weak that, in all my journeys, I am obliged to walk two-thirds of the way; and, if he were to die, I would give my kingdom for another, and find nobody to accept my offer. Till I came here I hardly knew what walking was. I often walked from sunrise to sunset, without any other refreshment than a drink of water; and I have traversed on foot, in different directions, almost every part of the country between Vizagapatam and Madura, a distance of eight hundred miles."*

The period at which Munro arrived in India was the most critical that had yet occurred in the history of the English in that country. Hyder Ali Khan, the able and powerful ruler of Mysore, was threatening to invade the Carnatic, avowedly with the object of expelling the English from it. The Government of Madras exhibited the most unaccountable apathy, and were making no

* *The Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig. New Edition, revised and condensed. London, Murray, 1849, pp. 46, 47.

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preparations for defence. Still worse, the individual members of the Government were quarrelling among themselves. There were indeed English garrisons at Wandiwash, Vellore, and Arcot, and a detachment under Colonel Baillie was in the Northern Circars beyond the river Kistna; but there was no adequate provision for meeting the threatened invasion. A few months after Munro's arrival, Hyder Ali's threat became a reality. It seemed to come suddenly. The blaze of villages set on fire by his advancing troops was seen from St. Thomas's Mount, only five miles from Madras. Frightened country-people flocked in to take shelter under the guns of Fort St. George. The Government then awoke from their fancied security; but the preparations for defence were made hurriedly, and proved insufficient. The Commander-in-Chief took the command of a force which was assembled at Conjeveram, where young Munro was ordered to join the camp. Colonel Baillie's detachment was recalled from the Kistna, and, in an attempt to join the head quarters, was defeated by Hyder Ali, who interposed his army between the two forces, and prevented them from uniting. The Commander-in-Chief of the English army retired to the immediate neighbourhood of Madras.

On hearing of these disasters, Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, hastened from Calcutta to Madras, where he took command of the army destined for service in the field. During the delay that elapsed while the necessary preparations were being made, Hyder Ali was everywhere triumphant in the Carnatic, the scattered garrisons of Madura, Wandiwash, Vellore, and other places merely holding their own against his

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attacks. When Sir Eyre Coote commenced his campaign, Munro served with a sepoy battalion, and was present at the decisive battle of Porto Novo, and at almost every engagement of importance that took place during the war. Hyder Ali was completely defeated and driven out of the Carnatic.

For two years Munro was stationed at Vellore, a town about seventy miles from Madras, where some twenty years afterwards an appalling mutiny took place. The account of his house and proceedings there is interesting, and it will be well to quote it as a description of his life in cantonments as a young military officer of eight or nine years' standing before he began his civil employ. "My house," he wrote, "consists of a hall and a bedroom. The former contains but one piece of furniture—a table; but, on entering the latter, you would see me at my writing-table, seated on my only chair, with the old couch behind me, adorned with a carpet and a pillow; on my right hand a chest of books, and on my left two trunks—one for holding about a dozen changes of linen, and the other half-a-dozen plates, knives and forks. I generally dine at home about three times a month, and then my house looks very superb; every person on this occasion bringing his own chair and plate.

"Having had so particular an account of my possessions, you may, perhaps, wish to know in what manner I pass my leisure hours. Seven is our breakfast hour, immediately after which I walk out, generally alone; and, though ten is my usual hour of returning, I often wander about the fields till one; but, when I adhere to the rules I laid down for myself, I come home at

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ten, and read Persian till one, when I dress and go to dinner at the regimental mess. Come back before three: sometimes sleep half an hour, sometimes not, and then write or talk Persian and Hindustani till sunset, when I go to the parade, from whence I set out with a party to visit the ladies, or to play at cards at the commanding-officer's. This engages me till nine, when I go to supper, or more frequently return home without it, and read politics and nonsense till bed-time. I should have mentioned fives as an amusement that occupies a good deal of my time. I seldom miss above two days in a week at this game, and always play two or three hours at a time, which are taken from my walks and Persian studies."

Evidently Munro had a great liking for Vellore, and regarded it from a true poetic and historic aspect. "I have," he remarked, "almost as much local attachment to Vellore as to Northside; for it is situated in a delightful valley, containing all the varieties of meadows, groves, and rice-fields. On every side you see romantic hills, some near, some distant, continually assuming new forms as you advance or retire. All around you is classic ground in the history of this country, for almost every spot has been the residence of some powerful family, now reduced to misery by frequent revolutions, or the scene of some important action in former wars.

"Not with more veneration should I visit the field of Marathon, or the Capitol of the ancient Romans, than I tread on this hallowed ground; for, in sitting under a tree, and while listening to the disastrous tale of some noble Muhammadan, who relates to you the ruin of his fortune and his family, you contemplate by what strange

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vicissitudes you and he, who are both originally from the North of Asia, after a separation of so many ages, coming from the opposite quarters, again meet in Hindustan to contend with each other—this is to me wonderfully solemn and affecting."*

For five years Munro was employed on garrison duty in various parts of the country, and for two years he served under Captain, afterwards Colonel, Read, in the Intelligence Department. He was engaged in most of the military operations in the war with Tippu Sultan, who had succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Mysore, which ended in 1792 in the subjugation of that monarch, and in the cession of certain territory, including the Baramahal and Dindigal, to the East India Company. When peace was declared in March, 1792, the two sons of Tippu were delivered up as hostages, and were taken to Madras, and Munro accompanied the detachment which escorted them thither.

We have hitherto been considering Munro as a military officer. He was now about to quit the exciting and adventurous life of a soldier for a time, and to enter on civil employ; and it is not using too strong language to say that he proved himself to be the very best revenue officer that India had yet seen. One of the provinces then ceded to the Company was the Baramahal, or the twelve forts. The Baramahal was situated on an intermediate level between the first and second ranges of hills which separated the higher country from the plains. It took its name from the twelve fortresses built chiefly on rocky summits which protected an equal number of

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 47.

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divisions.* It comprised the northern half of the present district of Salem, and part of North Arcot, being a continuation of the table-land of Mysore and the Dekkan, and being between two and three thousand feet above the level of the sea. It was a beautiful and pleasant country, being diversified here and there by hills of considerable height and loveliness. The administration of the districts hitherto held in Southern India had not been a success; and, on the occupation of the newly acquired territory, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, who had himself conducted the campaign against Tippu, and who was then at Madras, determined to place it under carefully selected military officers, the services of competent Civilians acquainted with the languages and habits of the people not being available. Captain Read was chosen for this duty, with the title of Superintendent of Revenue in the Baramahal, with three assistants under him, one of whom was Munro.

Munro threw himself heartily into his new work, and became thoroughly attached to the district. His head quarters were at Dharmapuri, and there he made a pleasant garden, and to that place his thoughts frequently turned with affection in after-life and amid other scenes. But he was seldom there, as he was constantly moving about his district in tents. Even so late as May, when the hot weather was at its height, we find him writing to his mother from his tent. He seems thoroughly to have enjoyed the scenery of this beautiful district. "It is a romantic country," he

* Wilks's *Mysore*, Vol. 1, p. 254.

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wrote when leaving it, "and every tree and mountain has some charm which attaches me to it. I began some years ago to make a garden near Dharmapuri, sheltered on one side by a lofty range of mountains, and on the other by an aged grove of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square, lined with stone steps; and the spring is so pleasant that, besides watering abundantly every herb and tree, there is always a depth of ten or twelve feet of clear water for bathing. I have numbers of young orange, mango, and other fruit trees in a very thriving state. I had a great crop of grapes this year, and my pine-beds are now full of fruit. When I happened to be at Dharmapuri, I always spent at least an hour every day in this spot; and to quit it now goes as much to my heart as forsaking my old friends."* Years afterwards, on revisiting this district to which he was so much endeared, he wrote, "the natural beauty of the place is enough to make any one partial to it. There is nothing to be compared to it in England, and, what you will think higher praise, nor in Scotland."

He lived among the people. He made himself entirely accessible to them; permitted them to join him in his walks; and listened patiently to their long stories about their crops, their prospects, and their privations. The ryots in that part of Salem spoke Telugu, and, though it is never distinctly stated in his biography that he spoke Tamil or Telugu, which are the languages spoken in that part of Southern India, he must have been able to converse with them; because

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 129.

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he himself listened to their petitions and complaints, without the intervention of his Indian officials. He spoke Hindustani fluently. His mode of living was of the simplest description. "I have dined to-day," he mentioned in one of his letters, "on porridge made of half ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters."* In the same letter he said: "I have no choice of study, or society, or amusement. I go from village to village with my tent, settling the rents of the inhabitants; and this is so tedious and teasing a business, that it leaves room for nothing else—for I have no hour in the day that I can call my own. At this moment, while I am writing, there are a dozen people talking around me: it is now twelve o'clock, and they have been coming and going in parties ever since seven in the morning. One has a long story of a debt of thirty years' standing, contracted by his father. Another tells me that his brother made away with his property, when he was absent during the war; and a third tells me that he cannot afford to pay his usual rent, because his wife is dead, who used to do more work than his best bullock."†

The district was just recovering from the calamity of war. The people knew nothing of the English Government and its officers, and therefore the settlement of the revenue required the most judicious and delicate handling. The system, if it can be so called, of Hyder and Tippu had been of the roughest description. The revenue was farmed out to certain respon-

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 97. † *Ibid.*, p. 93.

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sible persons, from whom the ruling power expected great returns, and whose peculations impoverished the people. The great aim of Colonel Read and his assistants was to accustom the ryots to a moderate, but steady, assessment. The system that was adopted after careful consideration and trial was called the Ryotwary System, by which the Collector on behalf of the Government dealt with each individual cultivator. This system was gradually introduced into the district; and, as it received the hearty support of Munro, both at this time, and when he was called upon to fill higher and more influential positions, it was extended to other districts, and became the principal revenue system throughout the Madras Presidency.

Under this system the condition of each individual ryot is most favourable. There is an annual inquiry regarding each holding, but "there is no annual settlement of the rate of assessment. All that is inquired into is the extent of each ryot's holding, and this is rendered necessary by the option which is conceded to the ryot to give up, or diminish, or extend his holding from year to year. Every registered holder of land is recognized as its proprietor, and pays the revenue assessed upon his holding direct to Government. He is at liberty to sublet his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, and he has the option of annually increasing his holding, provided that there is other land available, or of diminishing it or entirely abandoning it. The ryot under this system is virtually a proprietor with a simple and perfect title, and has all the benefits of a perpetual

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lease without its responsibility."* We have here given this simple description from official sources so that the reader may more fully understand what is the exact system which was introduced into the Baramahal, and which afterwards received the mature approval of Munro when he had longer experience of it. According to his estimate there were at that time about 600,000 inhabitants, of whom from 45 to 50,000 were ryots. The rent of the middling class of farmer was from £2 5s. to £4 10s. a year. During Colonel Read's administration the whole district was completely surveyed, and the revenue settled; and it speaks well for the way in which he and his assistants laboured that in the last year of Munro's stay, the whole revenue was collected within the year without difficulty, and without a single coin being outstanding. The time of his residence in the Baramahal was now drawing to a close. It had been a time of hard and unremitting labour, constant intercourse with the people, and thorough devotion to duty; and in after years he always looked back with pleasure on what he called those "seven very happy years."

The work of Captain Munro in the Baramahal and his residence there were, to his great regret, shortened by the final campaign against Tippu. A corps was organized in this part of the country, principally with the object of supplying the grand army with provisions. It was placed under the command of Colonel

* *Major-General Sir Thomas Munro. A Memoir.* By Sir Alexander J. Arbuthnot. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889, p. 27.

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Read, and Munro served with it until the fall of Seringapatam, when a Commission was appointed to prepare the treaties requisite on the conclusion of the war. His friend Captain, afterwards Sir John, Malcolm, and he acted as the joint Secretaries to this Commission. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, was a member of the Commission; and, beneath the walls of Seringapatam, a lasting friendship was commenced between these two eminent men. The Duke had a very high opinion of Munro, and they frequently corresponded with each other.

By the partition treaty then framed between the English, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, the Province of Canara on the western coast was assigned to the English Government; and Munro, whose capacity had already been fully tested, was entrusted with the difficult task of bringing it into order, and introducing into it good government. His own strong desire was to return to his old district, where he hoped to succeed Colonel Read, who had gone elsewhere; but, at the call of duty, he cheerfully consented to put aside his own wishes, and proceeded to Canara. There, for sixteen months, he was engaged in thorough hard work, during which, to use his own phrase, he had not even time to think. He was not very happy there, because the country, the climate, and the people were so very different from everything to which he had lately been accustomed. But work tended to sustain his spirits. Public business seldom occupied him less than ten hours a day, and sometimes twelve or thirteen. He was never alone, except when asleep or at meals. He was constantly out in tents. "I am convinced," he

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wrote at this time, "that the people of this country, by my spending all my time among them under the fly of a marquee, are already better British subjects than they would have been in twenty years, had I lived in a house on the sea-shore." He was, however, much disheartened sometimes by his movements being impeded by the heavy rains, which last a long time on that coast.

Canara is a wild and rugged strip of territory. The greater portion of it is below the mountains which skirt the west coast of India, and, being intersected by numerous rivers, is extremely damp and muggy. The mountainous part is wooded, fertile, and pleasant, the climate being comparatively cool. It was at that time inhabited by a turbulent people, who, having been severely fleeced by Hyder and Tippu's officers, were not in the humour to submit tamely to the authority of the East India Company. During the few months of Munro's administration, however, they completely yielded to the charm and fascination of his manner, and became peaceable and orderly subjects. The land was regarded as the private possession of the holders, and most of Munro's work consisted in deciding claims for land, which had seldom been the case in the Baramahal. The settlement of the revenue was made with the land-owners, not directly with the ryots, and, in this respect, he followed the plan which he desired always to uphold,—that no sudden changes should be made in the ancient tenure of land, so that he did not feel himself at liberty to introduce what he considered the best system of revenue, namely, the ryotwary.

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A personal memoir demands an account of some of the details of the daily life of its subject, and therefore a brief sketch of Munro's mode of living, while engaged in the arduous work of a Collector, may appropriately be given here. It is taken from the time when he was at his head quarter station; but, as can well be imagined, it did not vary much, when he was in the district in tents. He slept on a rattan cot with a carpet and a pillow placed on it. He rose at daybreak. On leaving his room, he walked in the open air bare-headed, conversing with the people who had gathered together to speak to him. After an early breakfast he gave verbal instructions to his assistants, wrote his letters, and then proceeded to his office, where he remained till half-past four transacting the usual routine of public business. He then dressed, and, while so employed, one of his assistants read aloud either the letters just received or some interesting book. At five he had dinner, and amused himself in various ways until eight. Then came his night office-work, which frequently lasted till midnight. He was remarkably primitive and rather eccentric in his costume. He was dressed in the fashion which was prevalent twenty years before, when he was engaged in the campaign under Sir Eyre Coote. He still wore a cue, which, in the absence of a proper fastening, he sometimes tied with a piece of red tape. He was not a sportsman, but was very fond of athletic exercises, such as quoits and fives; and, when he was unable to obtain these favourite amusements, he sometimes diverted himself even by throwing stones. "When I joined him on one occasion," wrote one of his assistants, "I perceived a stone in his hand, and inquired

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what he meant to do with it. 'I am just waiting,' he answered, 'till all the Brahmans go away, that I may have one good throw at that dog upon the wall.'"*

At last, after having been instrumental in reducing the district of Canara to comparative order, Munro's desire to leave it was fulfilled, and the next seven years were spent in doing the same good service in what were called the Ceded Districts, situated in the north of the Madras Presidency. In the last year of the eighteenth century, the Nizam, being unable to fulfil his engagements with the English Government, ceded to it the tract of country now representing the districts of Bellary, Anantapore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, and the Palnad. He was appointed Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts, with four Collectors under him, he himself retaining the southern part of Bellary or Anantapore. The country over which he was now called upon to rule is the very reverse of Canara. It is an arid, rocky, and almost treeless tract. The culturable ground is chiefly what is known as "black cotton" soil. It is very fertile in the parts immediately under irrigation; but the greater part of it is dry, stony, and hilly. It was at that time studded with hill forts, some of considerable strength. It had for generations been the battle-field between Mussulman and Hindu; and it was then overrun by several petty chieftains, who had set the Nizam's Government at defiance, and what revenue there was had been collected by plundering and violence. The following pithy sentences give a clear description of the rule which was about to be

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 156.

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displaced: "The ten years of Mogul Government in Cuddapah has been almost as destructive as so many years of war; and this last year, a mutinous, unpaid army was turned loose during the sowing season, to collect their pay from the villagers. They drove off and sold the cattle, extorted money by torture from every man who fell into their hands, and plundered the houses and shops of those who fled; by which means the usual cultivation has been greatly diminished." A drought had, moreover, recently occurred. Altogether, the Ceded Districts were in a truly pitiable plight. Munro set about the work of amelioration with characteristic vigour. He reduced the power and curbed the license of the chieftains and minor rulers. He introduced law and order into a distracted country. He constantly moved about in tents. Wherever he went, he mixed with the people unattended and unarmed. He thus inspired confidence. The country became peaceable, and the people contented. The revenue was collected easily, and when "the Colonel Doragaru," or the Colonel Gentleman, as the ryots generally called him, left on a well-merited furlough to England, his administration of the Ceded Districts received the cordial approbation of Government.

Colonel Munro had now rendered twenty-seven years of continuous service in India, and he felt that it was time to return for a season to his native land. He arrived in England on April 5, 1808. His pleasure in revisiting the haunts of his youth in Scotland were clouded by missing his mother, who had died the year before, and by observing the sad infirmities which old age had brought upon his father. He was six years

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at home, most of his time being spent in London, where he was of service in giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, which was then sitting. The expiration of the Charter of the East India Company was drawing near, and Parliament was making a careful inquiry into the whole subject of Indian administration. Munro's evidence was much valued, and his opinions carried great weight. The impression left upon the authorities was so favourable, that he was appointed the head of a Commission to inquire into the administration of justice in the Presidency of Madras.

Accordingly, Colonel Munro once more returned to India, arriving at Madras on September 16, 1814. He did not return alone. A few weeks before his departure, on March 14, he married Miss Jane Campbell, the daughter of a Scottish gentleman of property, a lady of sweet and pleasing disposition and manner, who, for many years, was much beloved by the people of Madras. The first few months of Munro's second sojourn in India were chiefly spent in collecting evidence on the subject of his mission. His only colleague was Mr. Stratton, one of the Judges of the Company's Chief Court in that town. The principal defects in the system then prevailing were the sharp distinction between the revenue and the judicial departments, the Collectors having no magisterial powers, while the Judges had no revenue experience, and were never really brought into contact with the people; and the entire exclusion of qualified Hindus or Muhammadans from positions of dignity and trust. The Commission suggested certain alterations in the Madras Code of Regulations, which

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were in use for many years, until it was superseded by the Penal and Civil Codes now universally employed in the English territories in India. Several reforms in the procedure were also suggested. Munro met with considerable opposition in this matter, particularly from those in authority, who, almost to a man, were too much attached to the existing system to abandon it readily.

This uphill work was interrupted by the Mahratta war of 1817–18. As the armies to be employed in this campaign were being prepared for service, Munro, with all his military predilections returning in full force, requested that he might be permitted to join the army, and be entrusted with a command. There was some hesitation at first in complying with his request; but, at length, he was appointed, in both a civil and a military capacity, to bring into subjection Dharwar and other districts in the Bombay Presidency which bordered on Madras, and which had recently been ceded by the Peshwa, the Mahratta ruler at Poona. Leaving his family at Bangalore, he quickly proceeded to the scene of his new duties. He had the satisfaction of defending the Madras Presidency from invasion, though with a most inadequate force, and of inducing the people not only to withhold payment of their rents to their former rulers, but to repel their attacks, which proved a most arduous and difficult task. The events of this brief campaign, by which Munro most materially assisted the greater operations of the grand army, are thus described by his old friend, Sir John Malcolm: "Insulated in an enemy's country, with no military means whatever, he forms the plan of subduing the country, expelling

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the army by which it is occupied, and collecting the revenues that are due to the enemy, through the means of the inhabitants themselves, aided and supported by a few irregular infantry, whom he invites from the neighbouring provinces for that purpose. His plan, which is at once simple and great, is successful to a degree that a mind like his could alone have anticipated. The country comes into his hands by the most legitimate of all modes, the zealous efforts of the people to place themselves under his rule; and to enjoy the benefits of a Government which, when administered by a man like him, is one of the best in the world. Munro, they say, has been aided in this great work by his local reputation, but that adds to his title to praise. His popularity in the quarter where he is placed is the result of long experience of his talents and virtues, and rests exactly upon that basis of which an able and good man may be proud."* The Canarese ryots of the Southern Mahratta territory had heard of his fame from their fellow-countrymen in Bellary; and, therefore, to use the words of Canning, "the population which he subjugated by arms, he managed with such address, equity, and wisdom, that he established an empire over their hearts and feelings."

We think that our readers will like to have the whole passage relating to Munro which occurred in the speech of the silver-tongued orator when proposing the thanks of the House of Commons to those engaged in the Mahratta war. "At the southern extremity of this long line of operations, and in a part of the campaign

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 258.

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carried on in a district far from public gaze, and without the opportunities of early special notice, was employed a man whose name I should indeed have been sorry to have passed over in silence. I allude to Colonel Munro, a gentleman of whose rare qualifications the late House of Commons had opportunities of judging at their bar, on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, and than whom Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier. This gentleman, whose occupations for some years must have been rather of a civil and administrative than a military nature, was called early in the war to exercise abilities which, though dormant, had not rusted from disuse. He went into the field with not more than five or six hundred men, of whom a very small proportion were Europeans, and marched into the Mahratta territories, to take possession of the country which had been ceded to us by the treaty of Poona. . . . At the end of a silent and scarcely observed progress, he emerged from a territory heretofore hostile to the British interest, with an accession instead of a diminution of force, leaving everything secure and tranquil behind him. This result speaks more than could be told by any minute and extended commentary."*

Wearied and worn, enfeebled in health by the exertions of this trying campaign, which had told even on his herculean frame, General Munro, accompanied by his wife, returned home at the conclusion of the war. They started on January 24, 1819; but they had not

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 260.

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been in England long, when he was appointed Governor of the Presidency in which he had spent so many years of hard and unremitting toil. They landed again at Madras, June 8, 1820, and he held the high position to which he had been so deservedly advanced until the day of his death just seven years afterwards. A full account of his beneficent rule cannot be given here; but a very good impression will be gained of the manner in which he performed the important duties confided to his charge, if a brief account is given of his daily life as Governor, of the principles that actuated his measures, and of the personal contact that he managed to maintain with the people at large. Throughout every duty, he endeavoured to act on his own maxim that "the superintending influence of a Governor should be felt in every corner of his province." He was now Sir Thomas Munro, having, before he left England, been created a Knight Commander of the Bath.

The mode in which Sir Thomas Munro arranged his daily work will prove the extreme diligence and care with which he endeavoured to discharge his high duties as Governor; and a comparison of the following statement with the account of his work some twenty years before will show that he worked as hard when he was Governor, as he did when he was only a Collector. Of course some little variation would be made in the daily round, according as to whether he was at Madras or in camp during one of his frequent tours in the country. He rose at daybreak, and took a ride or walk for two or three hours. On certain mornings he walked in one well-known direction, and was ready to listen to anybody who might wish to speak to him. On these occasions

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he was unattended, except, perhaps, by a messenger or by a former official. The people flocked to meet him; and he personally received their petitions, and promised to attend to them himself. Breakfast was at eight, and after it he had interviews with such European officers as might wish to consult him. At half-past nine he withdrew to his study, where he remained immersed in business till four, which was his dinner hour. On certain days he had to attend the public business in the Council Chamber. After dinner he took a drive with Lady Munro, and then returned to transact more business until eight, when he joined the family circle, and, except when there was company, an aide de camp or some other person whom he might select read aloud. He was particularly fond of hearing the debates in the British Parliament, which he liked to follow, or a novel by Sir Walter Scott, an author who always delighted him.

We shall now state briefly some of the principles on which he conducted his Government, as they will serve to show how great was the anxiety he felt for the people committed to his charge. He was most desirous of employing Indians in all appointments where their services could be available. He prepared a scheme for the instruction of such persons, and for training them for the public service. He was also anxious that all employed in that service should be adequately remunerated, and receive a sufficient pension when laid aside by sickness or old age. He was very particular in not permitting them to hold land in the districts where they were serving, so that the temptation of being privy to the sale of land which they wished to purchase,

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might be entirely removed. He was very desirous that the junior Civilians should always begin their service in the revenue department, in order that they might be brought into closer contact with the people, and acquire an affection for them by becoming acquainted with the affairs of their daily life. For the same reason he always spoke strongly on the necessity of their acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Indian languages.

We here give an extract from a Minute which Sir Thomas Munro wrote on the above subject as a specimen of the many powerful Minutes which he prepared during his tenure of the Governor's office. "In the revenue line," he said, "the young Civilian has an almost boundless field, from whence he may draw at pleasure his knowledge of the people. As he has it in his power, at some time or other, to show kindness to them all in settling their differences, in occasional indulgence in their rents, in facilitating the performance of their ceremonies, and many other ways; and as he sees them without official form or restraint, they come to him freely, not only on the public, but often on their private, concerns. His communications with them are not limited to one subject, but extend to every thing connected with the welfare of the country. He sees them engaged in the pursuits of trade and agriculture, and promoting by their labours the increase of its resources, the object to which his own are directed. He sees that among them there is, as in other nations, a mixture of good and bad; that, though many are selfish, many likewise, especially among the agricultural class, are liberal and friendly to their poorer neighbours and tenants; and he gradually learns to take an interest in

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their welfare, which adheres to him in every future situation.

"If a young man be sent at once from College to the revenue line, the usual effect will be to render him attached to the people; if to the judicial, to increase the dislike to them with which he too often sets out. The main object, therefore, in beginning with the revenue, is not to teach him to collect the rents, which is a very secondary consideration, but to afford him an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the inhabitants and their usages, which is indispensable to the due discharge of his duty in the judicial as well as in the revenue line."*

We add one passage more from another Minute on a subject worthy to be pondered by all Anglo-Indian officials at the present time. "We should look upon India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the Indians shall, in some future age, have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular Government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. When we reflect how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of Governments, and that some, once the most cultivated, have sunk into barbarism, while others, formerly the rudest, have attained the highest point of civilization, we shall see no reason to doubt that, if we pursue

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 280.

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steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves.

"Those who speak of the Indians as men utterly unworthy of trust, who are not influenced by ambition or by the law of honourable distinction, and who have no other passion but that of gain, describe a race of men which nowhere exists, and which, if it did exist, would scarcely deserve to be protected. But if we are sincere in our wishes to protect and render them justice, we ought to believe that they deserve it. We cannot easily bring ourselves to take much interest in what we despise and regard as unworthy. The higher opinion we have of the Indians, the more likely we shall be to govern them well, because we shall then think them worthy of our attention. I therefore consider it as a point of the utmost importance to our national character and the future good government of the country, that all our young servants who are destined to have a share in it should be early impressed with favourable sentiments of the Indian people."*

After he had been Governor of Madras for a few years, the climate and the strain of continuous labour began to tell upon Sir Thomas Munro. "I am like an over-worked horse, and require a little rest," he wrote. He had, of late, experienced much happiness in his domestic life. Two sons had been born to him. Lady Munro and he had, however, been obliged to undergo the trial which is sure to come on all Anglo-Indian parents in having to part with their children for

* Gleig's *Life*, p. 316.

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a season, and latterly he had to bear the additional trial of parting from Lady Munro on account of ill-health. Twice he sent in his resignation, which the authorities in England were unwilling to accept. On the first occasion he remained in office because the first Burmese War had broken out, in which the army of Madras took its full share, and the experience of the Governor of Madras was needed to render assistance to the Government of India. The second time his resignation was proffered, it was accepted; but an unwarrantable delay was made in appointing his successor.

In order to make himself fully acquainted with every part of his Province, Sir Thomas Munro made long tours through the country. He enjoyed none of these tours so much as those through his old charges—the Baramahal and the Ceded Districts. The end came when he was in camp, travelling through the latter. He had started from Madras in May, 1827, and had reached Gooty on July 4. There was a good deal of cholera, but he had seen much of it, and showed no apprehension of danger now. The camp, however, was attacked, and several sepoys belonging to the Governor's guard died. On the morning of the 6th Sir Thomas Munro started for a ten miles' march in excellent spirits and apparently in good health. On the way he conversed freely with some of the ryots whom he met, warmly expressing his pleasure at hearing of the recent improvement reported in their crops. Soon after reaching the village of Pattikonda he adjourned to the audience tent; but, while in the very midst of transacting business with the Collector, he was suddenly taken ill. At first no apprehension was felt; but he rapidly sank. During his

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illness, he showed his usual consideration for others, and requested the friends who had gathered in his tent to leave it, remarking, "It is not fair to keep you in an infected chamber." About three o'clock he felt a little better, and, with a sweet smile, said to those around, "It is almost worth while being ill, in order to be so kindly nursed." This improvement was only transient, and at half-past nine he fell asleep. He was buried at Gooty next day in the little cemetery beneath the rugged hill fortress.

Thus, in the midst of the work in which he pre-eminently excelled, in the old district where he had spent so many happy and useful days, "the father of the people," as he had affectionately been called, died among his people. Perhaps, there was no one of our Anglo-Indian statesmen who more thoroughly identified himself with the people of India, and especially with the ryots, than Sir Thomas Munro. No one more fully felt with them and for them.

The impression left by Sir Thomas Munro on the minds and affections of the people in the districts where he had served has been deep and lasting. The late Mr. Bradshaw had the advantage of visiting most of the places where Munro had been, and his personal testimony is most interesting as showing that, even a short time ago, after nearly a hundred years, a favourable tradition of the great Governor's ability, affability, and kindness has been handed down to the children and children's children of the generation that knew him. We give Mr. Bradshaw's statement. "'It is not enough,' said the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'to give new laws or even good courts. You must take the

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people along with you and give them a share in your feelings, which can only be done by sharing theirs.' This Munro did fully, and he had his reward, for to this day the inhabitants of his old districts rise up and call him blessed. In my official capacity I have visited almost every spot in the Madras Presidency in which Munro lived or encamped, and can speak from personal knowledge of the impression that great administrator has left on the face of the country, the system on which it is governed, and on the hearts of the people. From Salem the Rev. W. Robinson says, 'Munro's name is held in the greatest reverence, and the highest compliment they can pay a Civilian is to compare him to Munro. I have talked to old Hindus, who cherish his memory as that of their greatest benefactor.' In the Ceded Districts boys are named after him, 'Munrolappa.' In the Cuddapah District wandering mendicants sing ballads to his praise. At Gooty a Brahman schoolmaster recently informed me that 'Sir Thomas Munro is styled Mandava Rishi—Mandava Rishi being no other than Munro deified.' In the season of scarcity, 1891–92, at a meeting held at Gooty, with the object of petitioning Government for a reduction of the land assessment, near the end of the proceedings, an old ryot stood up, and merely said in Telugu, 'O for Munro Doragaru back again!'"*

Sir Thomas was thoroughly imbued with the idea of duty. Self-interest was never permitted to step before it. The object of his life was to advance the

* *Sir Thomas Munro.* Rulers of India Series. By J. B. Bradshaw. Oxford, 1894, p. 6.

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good of the Hindus themselves, which he regarded as so thoroughly identified with the interests of the English in India that they could not be separated. He was open and honest as the day. Whether writing the description of a battle as a subaltern or an elaborate minute as a Governor, he simply stated facts as they were without exaggeration or embellishment. He appeared to some to be rather hard and stern; but this impression may have been made by the infirmity of deafness, with which he was afflicted in early life, and which troubled him even to the last. This possibly gave him an abstracted, and apparently haughty, manner.

The opinion of him expressed by Bishop Heber is very pleasing. "It was interesting," he wrote, "to find only one voice about Sir Thomas Munro, whose talents, steadiness, and justice seem admitted by everybody. He is a fine, dignified old soldier, with a very strong and original understanding, and a solid, practical judgement. He is excellently adapted for the situation which he holds; and his popularity is, perhaps, the more honourable to him, because his manners, though unaffected and simple, are reserved and grave."*

We give also the estimate of Munro's character formed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose opinion he would himself have valued. "General Munro," wrote Elphinstone at Satara on May 29, 1818, "left us this morning. I have gained a great deal of instruction from him, and have been greatly pleased with his strong practical good sense, his simplicity and frankness, his perfect good nature and good humour, his real benevo-

* Heber's *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 177.

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lence, unmixed with the slightest cant of misanthropy, his activity and truthfulness of mind, and delighted with those things that in general have no effect but on a youthful imagination. The effect of these last qualities is heightened by their contrast with his stern countenance and searching eye."

Two years later he wrote to a friend: "You greatly undervalue Munro, who has more marks of genius than most men I have seen, a clear and sagacious head in peace and war, original and correct views on all subjects, a real love of the Indians and of mankind, firmness approaching to inflexibility, great indulgence for others, good taste, candour, frankness, and simplicity, that make one at home with him in a minute."*

It is stated by his biographer that he was a truly religious man, that he never permitted a day to pass without setting aside some portion of it for devotional exercises, and that he was a diligent student of Scripture. To none are the inhabitants of Southern India more deeply indebted than to Sir Thomas Munro, to whom more than to any one else can appropriately be awarded the honourable title, "the friend of the Indian ryot."

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* Colebrooke's *Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Vol. 2, pp. 35, 125.

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SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

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CHAPTER II.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM:

THE UBIQUITOUS DIPLOMATIST.

A.D. 1783—1831.

"Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem."—*Horace.*

THE distinguished diplomatist, Sir John Malcolm, is a good example of a high-spirited, but thoughtless, youth, who afterwards attained, by his own ability and exertion, a very eminent position. Born of parents in reduced circumstances in a farm house on the banks of the Esk in Scotland, on May 2, 1769, he received a cadetship, while still quite a lad, and landed at Madras on April 16, 1783. He was, in fact, only fourteen years of age when he commenced his military career. He long retained his youthful appearance; and, when sent on his first separate command, as officer in charge of a detachment of British soldiers, to escort some prisoners who had been exchanged on their way to the frontier of the English territory during the war with

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Tippu, he was met by Major Dallas, who was escorting them through Tippu's dominions. The Major, as he drew near, seeing a bright rosy youth riding a rough pony, asked him where was the commanding officer. "I am the commanding officer," replied young Malcolm, rising in his saddle, much to his companion's amusement. Still better, he retained his youthful elasticity of spirits and joyousness of manner, which served to cheer and uphold him in times of anxiety and in hours of political perplexity and embarrassment.

The first years of his Indian life were spent in the ordinary routine of military service. He was, at first, very idle and extravagant. He got into debt; but, feeling repentant and ashamed, he stinted and starved himself rather than incur additional liabilities. He then set to work in real earnest to overcome the deficiencies in his early education, and he soon mastered Hindustani and Persian, the study of which proved most useful in obtaining promotion. He also diligently applied himself to the knowledge of Indian history, and especially of the principles on which the Government of the English Empire in India had been founded, and in which he subsequently proved a consummate master. The following extract from one of his earliest papers on political matters, shows the germs of those principles on which he always desired to act in his intercourse with Hindu diplomatists. "An invariable rule ought to be observed by all Europeans who have connection with Indians, never to practise any art or indirect method of gaining their end, and from the greatest occasion to the most trifling to keep sacred their word. This is not only their best but their wisest policy. By

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this conduct they will observe a constant superiority in all their transactions; but when they act a different part—when they condescend to meet the Muhammadan or the Hindu with the weapons of flattery, dissimulation, and cunning, they will, to a certainty, be vanquished. For a successful practice in these arts, perhaps no people on earth excel the Indians."*

The first appointment for which Malcolm applied was given to another. He was just half an hour too late. He was so vexed at this that, on his return to his tent, he threw himself on his cot and burst into tears. The successful officer was murdered on his first appearance at the Court to which he had been appointed as Assistant to the Resident; and Malcolm, who often mentioned the circumstance in after years, rightly regarded it as the Providential ruling of One who had reserved him for greater things. His first appointment was Persian interpreter to the detachment serving with the Nizam's troops before Seringapatam in 1792; but ill-health soon compelled him to return to Europe, and thus the first portion of his Indian career came to a premature close.

In the cold season of 1795-6, Malcolm returned to Madras as Secretary to General Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief. On April 26, 1798, Lord Mornington, afterwards the Marquis Wellesley, the great Governor-General, stayed for a time at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and Captain Malcolm was introduced to him. Pleased with some papers on the relations between the

* *Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm*, by Sir J. W. Kaye. London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1856. Vol. I, p. 23.

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English Government and the Indian States, which Captain Malcolm had presented to him, the Governor-General gave him the appointment of Assistant to the Resident at the Nizam's Court at Hyderabad. In his reply to Malcolm's application, the Governor-General kindly said: "In conferring this appointment on you, I have been governed by no other motive than my knowledge of the zeal, activity, and diligence with which you have pursued the study of the Indian languages, and the political system of India."*

This was a critical period in the history of British India. War with Tippu Sahib was imminent. The conduct of the Nizam in the approaching conflict was all-important, and it was well-known that the French had then obtained a commanding influence at his Court. French officers of distinction were in command of several battalions of his troops, and had brought them into a state of admirable efficiency and discipline. They were drilled under the colours of Republican France and the cap of liberty. Revolutionary France was to help the thorough tyrant Tippu in his designs against the English. The Government of India determined to put an end to this state of affairs by one bold stroke. English battalions were at hand, and the Resident, with the consent of the Nizam, was preparing to use them for this purpose. Just at the opportune moment, however, some of the French sepoys mutinied; and, a riot being expected, Captain Malcolm was sent to quell the tumult. The mutinous sepoys were about to treat him in the way in which they were

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol 1, p. 65.

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treating their own officers, when some of them who had once served in his own regiment, and remembered sundry kindnesses received at his hands, recognized him, and, lifting him on their heads, bore him to a place of safety. The French troops were afterwards disbanded without a conflict, and Captain Malcolm was despatched to present their colours as a trophy to the Governor-General.

Still more stirring events were rapidly approaching. The final war with Tippu soon followed. The French troops being out of the way, the Nizam threw in his lot with the English, and became one of their most faithful allies. A contingent was sent from Hyderabad, and Malcolm was appointed to accompany it as political officer. The British subsidiary force, composed entirely of sepoys, marched with the Nizam's contingent; and it was considered advisable to add to this force a European regiment. The regiment selected was the Thirty-third, commanded by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, between whom and Malcolm a lasting intimacy was begun. The siege and capture of Seringapatam followed in rapid succession. The death of Tippu during that memorable siege left the country of Mysore at the mercy of the conquerors. The partition and settlement of the country were arranged by a Commission consisting of a few distinguished officers, the two friends, Captain Malcolm and Captain Munro, acting jointly as Secretaries to the Commission. Two carefully prepared treaties were the result of its labours.

Malcolm's next employment was an embassy to the Court of Persia. The principal object of this mission

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was to enlist the sympathies and the policy of the Shah of Persia in favour of England, and in opposition to the intrigues of the French at his Court. He succeeded in establishing most amicable relations between the Indian Government and the Shah, and he left behind him a most favourable impression of the nation which he represented, he himself being in the eyes of the Persians a veritable "Rustam," or hero, on account of his attractive manner, noble appearance, and conciliatory but resolute demeanour. He was absent from India on this duty about a year and a half, leaving Bombay on December 29, 1799, reaching Teheran for presentation to the Shah on November 16, 1800, and returning to Bombay on May 13, 1801.

The Governor-General, fully approving of the manner in which Captain Malcolm had conducted these negotiations, summoned him to Calcutta for conference on his return to India. For a time he acted as the Governor-General's Private Secretary, and so ingratiated himself into his confidence that, to use Sir J. W. Kaye's words, "whenever there was delicate and difficult work to be done, demanding an equal exercise of tact and vigour, the common formula of suggestion at Government House, current alike with the Governor-General and his advisers, was 'Send Malcolm.'"* However this might have been, it is the fact that, during the next few years, Captain Malcolm travelled much, and seemed to be doing service everywhere. At one time he was sent to Madras to settle certain delicate personal matters among the high officials there; he then hastened to

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol I, p. 177.

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Bombay to conduct pacific negotiations with the Shah of Persia in consequence of the Persian Ambassador having been accidentally shot during an affray; soon he was at Madras again, in order to take up his new appointment as Resident of Mysore; he then posted to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief of Madras at Hurryhur, war having meanwhile been proclaimed against the Mahrattas; thence he pushed on to the head quarters of General Wellesley, and he rendered good service in assisting to place the Peshwa Baji Row, on the throne at Poona. Just at this juncture ill-health compelled him to proceed for change to Bombay, causing him, to his great chagrin, to miss being present at the decisive victory of Assaye, as Mountstuart Elphinstone was. He was not long absent, however, but was soon back again in camp, helping to cheer and enliven his brother-officers by his happy flow of spirits. He had a joke for every one, whether European, Mussulman, or Hindu; and it is said that no one left his society without a smile upon his face. Early in the year 1804, Malcolm was busy negotiating a treaty with Scindia. Even in the midst of the anxiety incident to this duty, his unfailing spirits buoyed him up, even though he was still struggling against ill-health.

It was, however, a time of the heaviest anxiety to Major Malcolm. The negotiation of the treaty of peace with the Maharaja Scindia devolved entirely on him. He was completely cut off from communication with the Governor-General, and was thus thrown on his own resources. But he was a confident and self-reliant man. His idea of duty, like that of every true-hearted

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patriot, was that "a man who flies from responsibility in public affairs is like a soldier who quits the ranks in action. He is certain of ignominy, and does not escape danger."* The treaties which he then prepared did not at first meet with the full approbation of the Governor-General; but Malcolm afterwards had the satisfaction not only of learning that Lord Wellesley fully approved of these treaties, but that he complimented him on the manner in which the negotiations had been conducted. Soon afterwards, however, a sharp conflict of opinion ensued between the Governor-General and himself regarding the disposal of the strong fortress of Gwalior, which Malcolm maintained ought to be delivered up to Scindia, contrary to the Governor-General's opinion. Whether he was right or wrong regarding this subject, he was courageous enough to give his own opinion very clearly to the one on whom all his hopes of promotion depended; and the correspondence elicited from him the following noble sentiment that states the true principle on which the stability of the English Empire in India securely rests. Nothing could shake his convictions, he wrote, "first, because there is some room for doubt on the subject, and if we determine a case of a disputable nature in our favour because we have power, we shall give a blow to our faith that will, in my opinion, be more injurious to our interests than the loss of fifty provinces. What has taken us through this last war with such unexampled success? First, no doubt, the gallantry of our armies; but secondly—and hardly secondly—our reputation for

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol 1, p. 251.

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good faith. These people do not understand the laws of nations, and it is impossible to make them comprehend a thousand refinements which are understood and practised in Europe. They will never be reconciled to the idea that a treaty should be negotiated upon one principle and fulfilled on another."* Eventually, Gwalior and the territory of Gohud were transferred to Scindia. Though this controversy much provoked Lord Wellesley, his kindliness towards Colonel Malcolm was not abated, and he subsequently wrote to him, "although these discussions have given me great pain, they have not in any degree impaired my friendship and regard for you, or my general confidence and esteem."†

The next three or four years of Malcolm's career were full of further incident and life. Recent events had told upon his health, and he was compelled to seek refreshment in a visit to the east coast, and he went to Vizagapatam and Ganjam; his health being somewhat restored, he proceeded to Mysore to resume his appointment as Resident. He had scarcely settled down with the intention of preparing his *History of Persia*, for which he had collected the materials while engaged in the embassy to that country, than he was again summoned to Calcutta for further conference with Lord Wellesley on affairs connected with the Mahratta campaign; and, as the result of this interview, he was sent to the far north-west.

During this important period of his life, Malcolm was brought into close contact with Lord Lake. Lake

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 267. † *Ibid.*, p 283.

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had gained several victories in the recent campaign; and, when Malcolm joined him, was encamped at Muttra, to the north-west of Agra. Jeswant Row Holkar, the great Mahratta freebooter, who boasted that his saddle was his throne, had, with his numerous horsemen, fled into the Punjab, whither Lake was about to follow him. Malcolm accompanied the army in its advance. It is stated that, just as they reached the River Sutlej, some of the Hindu sepoys declined to cross it. The Commander-in-Chief and Malcolm at once rode to the spot, and the latter, "ever fertile in resource, addressed them in a few stirring sentences. 'The sacred city and the shrine of Amritsar, with the water of immortality, is before you, and will you shrink from such a pilgrimage?' The words are reported to have had a magical and an instantaneous effect. There was no more wavering. The men went forward with their faces turned towards Amritsar."*

On the approach of the English force, there was no resource left to Holkar except submission. The treaty entered into with him on January 7, 1806, gave him terms which were much more favourable than he had a right to expect. It was no easy task for Malcolm to conduct these negotiations so as to satisfy Lord Lake, who entertained an inveterate aversion for all political officers, especially if they happened to be in civil employ. But he was successful even in this. "I offer my most cordial congratulations," wrote Lord Lake to Sir George Barlow, the acting Governor-General, "on an event

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 354. Marshman's *History of India*. London: Longmans, 1867, Vol. 2, p. 194.

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which promises to restore complete tranquillity to India, and which you will, I am satisfied, judge to be highly favourable to the interests of the British Government."*

This feeling did not long prevail. The authorities in England were most dissatisfied with the forward policy of Lord Wellesley, and sent out Lord Cornwallis a second time as Governor-General with express orders to reverse it. He died a few weeks after his return to India, and he was succeeded by the senior member of Council, Sir George Barlow, who was equally desirous to carry out the pacific policy of the Court of Directors. In doing this, he added certain declaratory articles to the treaty with Holkar, which had the effect of leaving some of the Indian princes whom the English Government ought to have protected, to the mercy of the cruel Mahratta Chief. The principal sufferer was the Rajput Raja of Jeypore. Malcolm, whose admiration for Lord Wellesley had ripened into affection, acutely felt the change of policy. He had negotiated the treaty with Scindia, which also was altered to suit the pacific principles of the new régime. Lord Lake showed his dissatisfaction by resigning all his diplomatic powers.

The following anecdote is told of Malcolm's versatility and address. It shows how ready he was either in his attachment to sport or tact in diplomacy. Ranjit Sing, the great ruler of the Punjab, was evidently much disturbed at the fact of Holkar's fleeing into his territory for refuge, so he sent some of his Chiefs to confer with the advancing English force. It was Malcolm's duty to receive these foreign envoys. While "he was

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 356.

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giving an audience to two or three of these agents, a friend rushed into his tent, and told him that there were two large tigers in the neighbourhood. The interruption was opportune. Malcolm started up, seized his ever-ready gun, cried out to the astonished envoys, 'A tiger! a tiger!' and, ordering his elephant to be brought round, rushed out of the tent. Joining his friend and one or two others, he went in pursuit of the game, and the animals were shot. He then returned to his tent, replaced his gun, resumed his seat and the conference together. The envoys, in the meanwhile, had been declaring that he was mad. But there was method in such madness. He had done more than shoot the tigers. He had gained time. He had returned with his mind fully made up on an important point, which required consideration, and the envoys received a different and a wiser answer than would have been given, if the tiger-hunt had not formed an episode in the day's council."*

Peace having been restored, he returned once more to the position he had all along held in name, the Residency of Mysore. Not long after his return, on July 4, 1807, he was married to Charlotte, the daughter of Colonel Alexander Campbell, afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. To this amiable lady he was devotedly attached, and they lived together for many years in happy and affectionate companionship. This event did not, however, add to the tranquillity of Colonel Malcolm's life, though it did to his happiness. He was still to be employed actively in the service of the State. But the

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 353.

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events of the next five years need not be followed even cursorily, as they were connected with a second embassy to Persia, the object of which was only indirectly concerned with the history and the politics of India. Notwithstanding various intrigues against him, he was finally successful in the negotiations confided to his charge by the new Governor-General, Lord Minto.

Between the two visits to Persia, he had been sent in an entirely different direction, that is to say, to Masulipatam, on the east coast of India, where he was commissioned to inquire into the grievances of some of the officers of the Madras Army. Masulipatam was one of the chief centres of the Mutiny of these officers. He was so far successful that he helped to smooth the way towards the conciliation effected by Lord Minto.

In the year 1812 General and Mrs. Malcolm returned to England. Leaving his family near London, he went, for a time, to Scotland, where he revisited the haunts of his childhood in Dumfries-shire. It was the source of great grief to him that his parents had died during his absence, and he was comforted by hearing them praised. "Visited," he wrote in his journal, "the graves of my parents, and heard the noblest praise of them from the aged, the infirm, and the poor that they had aided and supported; to whom the aid and support of the family are still given."* General Malcolm was absent from India on this occasion four years. The principal events of this period were the honour of knighthood which the Prince Regent conferred on him, when he gave him permission to accept and wear the

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 270.

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insignia of the Persian order of the Lion and the Sun; the bestowal of the Knight Companionship of the Bath, which he prized the more highly because he was one of the first of the East India Company's officers to obtain this honour; and the publication of his *History of Persia*, which was most favourably received by the literary world.

Sir John Malcolm, leaving his wife and children behind, returned to India in the year 1816, and reached Madras, March 17, 1817. He found himself at once in the very midst of the excitement of Indian politics and of the anticipation of war. Armies from each Presidency were converging on the predatory forces of the celebrated Pindari* freebooter, Cheetoo; and, at the same time, each of the great Mahratta States was on the eve of declaring war against the English Government. Sir John Malcolm was just the man required for the crisis. He thoroughly understood the Mahratta character; he knew the history, the politics, and the aspirations of each Mahratta Court; and he was personally acquainted with most of the Mahratta Chiefs. Not long after his arrival at Madras, he received a letter from the Earl of Moira, afterwards the Marquis of Hastings, who was then Governor-General, inviting him to Calcutta for the purpose of obtaining his counsel at that particular juncture.

After a few weeks there, during which the Governor-General took him into his confidence, he returned to South India in a half political, half military capacity;

* The Pindaris were bands of robber troops, who were ready to assist the Mahrattas in time of war, and to plunder on their own account in time of peace.

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As the Agent of the Governor-General in the Dekkan he was empowered to enter into negotiations with the Mahratta Chiefs, and as Brigadier-General, he was to accompany the advancing force. In the former capacity he visited the several Residencies of Mysore, Hyderabad, Poona, and Nagpore. At Poona he took counsel with his friend Mountstuart Elphinstone, and he did his best to influence the Peshwa, whom he knew well, and with whom he had negotiated former treaties. If any man could have arrested the Peshwa Baji Row in his unwarrantable plans, it would have been Sir John Malcolm; but that prince was too infatuated with his projects against the English Government to recede. As soon as war was declared, Sir John Malcolm assumed command of one of the divisions of the Grand Army of the Dekkan under the supreme command of Sir Thomas Hislop. The brunt of the battle of Mahidpore fell on his division, and he led it with singular courage and devotion, freely exposing himself to danger. The negotiations with the defeated Sovereigns, Baji Row and Holkar, were conducted by him, and a large portion of the conquered territories was placed under his control.

The next three years of his life were spent in the pacification and government of Malwa. This was thoroughly congenial work. He made himself accessible to all. High and low were made welcome to his presence. "I wish I had you here for a week," he wrote to one of his friends, "to show you my nawabs, rajas, Bheel chiefs, heads of villages, and peasants. My room is a thoroughfare from morning to night. No attendants, but the four doors open, that the inhabitants of these

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countries may learn what our principles are at the fountain-head. Of the result of my efforts I will not speak. Suffice it to say, that from the highest ruler to the lowest robber, from the palace in the city to the shed in the deepest recess of the mountain forest, your friend Malcolm Sahib is a welcome and familiar guest, and is as much pleased with firing arrows and eating roots with the latter, as at the fine receptions and sumptuous feasts of the former." Of course, he generally had the usual attendants and assistants about him; but, he wrote, "they step aside when any one, from a prince to a peasant, pronounces my name, with the expression of a wish to see me either from a motive of respect, curiosity, or business. No business, however urgent, no meal, however hungry I am, is allowed to prevent the instant access of any human being, however humble. He is heard and answered, either at the moment or at an hour appointed by myself. First impressions are of too much importance to be hazarded by leaving applications to the common routine of Indian officials. I am far from stating that such a proceeding is necessary in more settled countries; but here it is indispensable to produce the desired effect at an early period. I declare that, when I first took this country into my hands, I had the feeling of Rasselas with his elements. We are now calmer, and, being understood better than we were at first, go on smoothly; but still the work is delicate, and will require some years of the same care and attention, or the completion of the great object we have in view will be much protracted."*

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 307, 308.

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This was his own account of his labours. Another extract must be given from a letter of an officer on his staff. "Nobody that I ever heard of can get over the same quantity of business in the same quantity of time that he does; and his reputation stands so very high with the people that his being personally concerned in any arrangements goes further in satisfying them than I believe would the interference of any other man upon earth. When we crossed the Nerbudda in 1817, the state of Malwa was scarcely to be described. It was a country without a government, a State without revenue, an army without pay; consequently, a peasantry without protection from the villanies of the troops of their own Sovereign, or the depredators who chose to plunder them. We now see around us a State, though at present reduced in respect of revenue, yet respectable, and, perhaps, the finest country in India again wearing the face of cheerful industry; the inhabitants, assured of protection, returning to their villages, and looking forward with confidence to better times. This is Sir John Malcolm's work, and a most glorious work it has been. For whatever time his fame may last in Europe, Malcolm Sahib will be remembered in Malwa as long as regular Government exists, of which he has again laid the foundation."* He delighted in helping to civilize the wild hill race, the Bheels, many of whom inhabited Malwa. He was a great sportsman, and there were plenty of tigers about. The tigers he shot: the Bheels he made his friends. For years afterwards his name was used as a charm by this primitive

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 310.

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people, and the names of Malcolm and Malwa are inseparably united.

In the year 1821 Sir John Malcolm quitted the work in which he was so deeply interested, and set his face towards England, whither he returned through Egypt and the Continent of Europe, arriving in April, 1822. He was rejoiced once more to join his wife and family. His was not the temperament, however, to settle down quietly in his native land, and he was, after a time, eagerly anxious for further employment. In 1827 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and assumed charge on November 1, 1828. He served as Governor only three years; but they were most uneventful. The times were happily tranquil; there were few matters of urgent importance to occupy his attention; and the only fact worthy of record was that he endeavoured to make himself as accessible to all who desired to see him while Governor, as he had been when Commissioner of Malwa. "I have a public breakfast," he wrote, describing his daily routine as Governor, "on six days of the week, and one Council day. Every one comes that likes. It is a social levee, without formality or distinction. I am down half an hour before breakfast, and stay as long after it. Every human being who desires it, from writer to judge, from cadet to general, has his turn at the Governor. At half-past ten I am in my own room, have no visitors, and am given up to business. I have four or five good riding horses, and leave the door every morning at a quarter to five, returning a little after seven, having always gone nine or ten miles, sometimes more."

Perhaps the most notable event during Sir John

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Malcolm's Governorship was the dispute between the Bombay Government and the Supreme Court, in which Sir John Malcolm and the Chief Justice, Sir John Peter Grant, stood forth as the most prominent figures. It is a by-gone quarrel, but at this time it is amusing and important as having first brought Lord Ellenborough into notice before the English public in India. The cause of the conflict was simple. The Judges of the Supreme Court of Bombay, which had been established only four or five years previously, imagined that they had jurisdiction over the whole Presidency instead of only in Bombay; and, on this assumption, they summoned the guardian of a minor at Poona to appear before them. The exercise of this power was resisted by the Government, and collision ensued between the Government and the judicial authorities. The Directors and the Board of Control upheld the claims of the former, and Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, kindly wrote a private letter to Sir John Malcolm approving of his conduct. This letter gave Malcolm great satisfaction, and he forwarded copies of it to the Governor-General and to a friend in Calcutta, and somebody sent a copy of one of these copies to a Calcutta newspaper. The publication caused vexation in some quarters and amusement in others. Lord Ellenborough caused the latter by saying he hoped that Sir John Grant, if transferred to Calcutta, would revise his notions of law—at any rate, no more mischief could happen, "as he will be like a wild elephant led away between two tame ones,"* a phrase which has become proverbial.

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 530.

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Malcolm had a high opinion of the benefit derived from the Governor taking frequent tours through his Presidency. After one of these tours he wrote: "A Governor of Bombay cannot perform his duty without frequently visiting the provinces. These visits have been attended with considerable expense; but no cost that can be incurred will bear any comparison to the benefit produced by such circuits. They give life and animation to all classes; they are a check upon bad conduct, and an encouragement to good. Indians refer everything to persons. They are slow to understand the abstract excellence of our system of Government. They see in the Governor, when he visits the provinces, the head of the Government. The timid acquire confidence, and the turbulent are checked by his presence. He sees and remedies abuses on the spot, and judges in person of the value of proposed improvements. It is by such visits, also, that he can best determine on measures of economy, and prevent useless expenditure in every department. The extraordinary advances made in almost every branch of the Government by my predecessor are much to be imputed to his having passed so much of his time in the provinces."*

It should be stated that he was not popular as a Governor among the European officials, which was chiefly attributable to his having to carry out retrenchments ordered from England; but he was much liked by the Indian community. With the common perversity of human nature, having obtained the object of his ambition, he was soon anxious to leave it, and

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 542.

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looked forward to a speedy return to England, where he hoped to serve India more effectually in the Imperial Parliament than in executive work in Bombay or elsewhere.

Sir John Malcolm finally retired from the service in 1831, when he was sixty-two years of age, after forty-eight years spent in hard work for his country in India, with brief periods of rest in England. He took a house on Wimbledon Common. Some years before, the Duke of Wellington had advised him to go into Parliament, and now that he had retired from the Indian service, he followed this advice, hoping that it would open to him a fresh career in which he could serve his country. In April, 1831, he obtained a seat as member for Launceston, on the nomination of the Duke of Northumberland; but he did not continue long as a member of the House of Commons. He purchased a small estate in Berkshire, and amused himself by building a house after his own plans. He also busied himself in literary pursuits. He was anxious to finish the *Life of Lord Clive* which he had begun, and to commence a new work on the Government of India, in which he could give expression to his ideas of the principles that the experience of so many years had impressed upon his mind.

The time for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company was drawing near, and he took a great interest in the discussion regarding it. He made a long and fervent speech at a General Meeting of the Court of Proprietors held in the old India House in Leadenhall Street, moving the adoption of certain resolutions in favour of the East India Company accepting the governing power over India without the commercial advantages

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and privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. This was the last public utterance of one of the Company's most able servants. He was seized with influenza, which that year was very prevalent in England. It weakened him much, but he persisted in going to the India House to watch the course of the debate. In this weakened condition he was attacked by paralysis, and, after a few weeks of lingering illness, he died on May 30, 1833.

We have thus briefly given an account of a very remarkable career. Frank, outspoken, honest, but rather boisterous and noisy, Sir John Malcolm was a good specimen of those eminent men who created the great Indian Empire. He was equally genial and pleasant with Muhammadans and Hindus as he was with his fellow-countrymen; but the grand lesson to be learned from his life is what every English statesman who has to deal with the politics of India should lay especially to heart,—namely, the superlative value of scrupulous good faith in every treaty and in every act. His writings, and especially his *Political History of India*, insist strongly and persistently on this point; and they contain so many wise and sound maxims on the intercourse of Englishmen with the people of that land that a selection from them used invariably to be placed in the hands of every young Civilian on his landing on the shores of India.

There is no doubt as to the transparent honesty of Sir John Malcolm's character. The Princes with whom he had to carry on negotiations felt that he was a man to be thoroughly trusted, and this was the secret of his success. They were perfectly aware that, while

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he himself said what he meant, he was not one who could be overreached. Nothing like chicanery or deceit could be attempted with him, because he was thoroughly acquainted with the Oriental character, and knew that the best way of meeting any attempt at underhand dealing was to oppose to it the straightforward and direct policy of an English statesman. He was not only respected by Hindu Princes, but was undoubtedly beloved by the people at large. He had a sympathy with them, and a geniality towards them that attracted their affection. It is said that "if a timely joke would answer his purpose better than a Government regulation, he made the joke and left the code on the shelf." By this happy temper he disarmed discontent, and drew towards himself, and through himself to the British Government, the hearts of his people.

In his domestic character Sir John Malcolm seems to have been most lovable. He was a very affectionate son and brother; the closer and tenderer relationship of husband and father was of the purest character; and he was a firm and constant friend. His friendship with such men as the Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and Munro, showed that his sterling qualities were appreciated by some of the first Anglo-Indian statesmen of that time, while the confidence reposed in him by the Marquis Wellesley and the other Governors-General under whom he served, shows that they thoroughly valued the faithful service and devotion which he had so freely rendered to his own nation and to his adopted country.

On greater and higher matters he was, as so many of

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his countrymen are, too, reticent. He was, however, most scrupulous with regard to his religious duties. He was very particular in his observance of the Christian Sabbath day, on which he always put aside his ordinary literary work, and generally employed himself in turning the Scriptures into verse. We think that a fitting close of this brief sketch will be an extract from his biography by Sir John William Kaye, who thus summarizes the Christian aspect of his character: "He had derived in early youth, from religious parents, lessons of Christian doctrine and principles of Christian conduct, which, although it was not his wont to make parade of these things, he held in solemn remembrance throughout the whole of his career. He had ever the highest respect for the truths of the Christian Church; and he lived in a state of incessant gratitude and thanksgiving to the benign Creator, whose good gifts had descended so copiously upon him. The sentiment of reverence was, indeed, as strong within him as that of love. He lived in charity with all men, and he walked humbly with his God."*

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* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 621.

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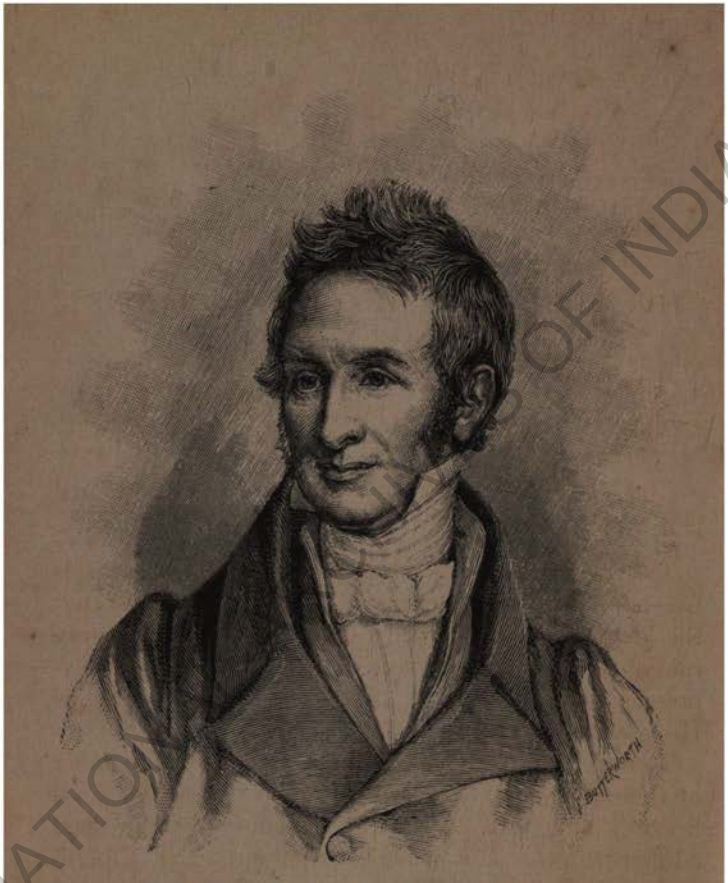

THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

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CHAPTER III.

THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE:

THE ACCOMPLISHED SCHOLAR.

A.D. 1796—1827.

"Cause caused it."

THE motto of the Scottish family of Elphinstone is the brief phrase—"Cause caused it." It means that the great Sovereign of all, God, the first great Cause, raised the family and caused it to prosper, thus expressing its obligation to Him and its desire to follow His guidance.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, a member of this family entered the East India Company's Civil Service, and became one of its most distinguished administrators. His name was Mountstuart Elphinstone. He was a younger son of a Scottish peer of that name, and was born on October 6, 1779. Receiving his appointment at the early age of sixteen, he reached Calcutta on February 26, 1796, when Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, was Governor-General of

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Bengal. He was soon brought into contact with the dangers and vicissitudes which then characterized Indian life. He had been in India just three years, and was Assistant to the Magistrate of Benares, when one of those incidents took place which, in that country, from time to time, unexpectedly and suddenly occur. Vizier Ali, the dethroned Nawab of Oudh, who had been detained in Benares, under nominal restraint, attacked the Residency, on January 14, 1797, killed Mr. Cherry, the Resident, and would have massacred all the European inhabitants, if his followers had not been kept at bay by the singular courage of Mr. Davis, the Judge and Magistrate of Benares, who defended his house with a spear until assistance could be obtained. Elphinstone and a young friend escaped on horseback, though closely followed by Vizier Ali's troopers.

Just about this time Lord Wellesley became Governor-General, and an eventful period of diplomacy and of war was about to commence. In South India, Tippu Sultan, the powerful ruler of Mysore, was effectually conquered; and, in Central India, the various Mahratta Sovereigns were coming into collision with the increasing power of England. In 1801, Elphinstone was appointed Assistant to Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, and he was thus brought into the very midst of the political excitement which was prevalent in that region. The Mahratta princes were at variance with each other. Scindia and Holkar, the most powerful of them, attacked Baji Row, the Peshwa, with whom the English had entered into alliance. During the campaign that ensued, Elphinstone took a prominent part. Captain Malcolm,

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who had been entrusted with the conduct of the Political negotiations in Berar, and had been in General Wellesley's camp, had been compelled, much to his own disappointment, to take sick leave to Bombay; and Elphinstone took his place. In this capacity, he rode at the side of General Wellesley during the brilliant battle of Assaye (Sept. 23, 1803). Though a Civilian by profession, he was so calm and self-possessed in action, and exhibited so plainly the qualities requisite in military affairs, that Colonel Wellesley remarked that he had evidently mistaken his calling, and ought to have been a soldier. At the end of the campaign, General Wellesley expressed his great satisfaction at the manner in which Elphinstone had conducted the necessary negotiations with the Mahratta statesmen. "He is well versed in the language," wrote that eminent commander, "has experience and knowledge of the Mahratta powers, and their relations with each other and with the British Government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have been fought in this quarter during the war, and in all the sieges. He is acquainted with every transaction that has taken place, and with my sentiments upon all subjects."*

At the end of the campaign, Elphinstone was appointed Resident at Nagpore, where his duties were to represent British interests at the Court of the Raja of Berar. He remained there during the uneventful

* *Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P. London: John Murray, 1884, Vol. I, p. 110.

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period that ensued. Though an athlete, and very fond of field-sports whenever opportunity for them offered, he was eminently a student and a man of letters. Having left his native land when still very young, he keenly felt the deficiencies of his early education, and set resolutely to work to apply the only available remedy. His proficiency in Oriental learning, and his subsequent achievements in literature, show how large an amount of success attended his efforts in this respect. In the midst, therefore, of the comparative leisure of this period of his life, he gave himself assiduously to study.

This did not last very long. Early in the year 1809, Elphinstone was selected by the Government of India to be the head of an embassy to the Court of the Amir of Kabul. This mission did not proceed further than Peshawar, where the Amir was then staying, and success in the object of the negotiations does not appear to have been very great. An apprehension had been entertained by the Government, that, as the French, with whom the English were then waging war, were intriguing in Persia, an invasion of India through Persia and Afghanistan might be contemplated; and it was desired that a treaty should be entered into with the Amir to prevent such a combination, and, at the same time, it was intended to conclude a treaty with the Shah of Persia with the same object. The treaty with the Shah was entered into; but internal dissensions in Afghanistan prevented the Amir from entertaining the English proposals. Elphinstone, however, turned to good advantage the opportunities he then obtained for gaining trustworthy information regarding the people and the history of Afghanistan. He afterwards em-

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bodied this information in a book which was most favourably received in England, and laid the foundation of his literary fame.

Elphinstone remained the following year at Calcutta; but his ability as a diplomatist was so highly appreciated that in 1811, he received the very influential appointment of Resident at Poona. The first five years of his stay there were uneventful, and his duties consisted chiefly in carefully watching the course of events. He had abundant time, however, for literary occupations, principally connected with the ancient history and literature of India. But stirring events were coming. The Pindaris were about to pour down on every defenceless part of Northern and Central India. The Mahratta princes, Scindia, Holkar, the Raja of Berar at Nagpore, and the Peshwa at Poona, were preparing to attack the English territories. Elphinstone had to deal with the last, and our attention must, at present, be concentrated on the events at his Court. It had been the policy of the Indian Government to uphold the authority of the Peshwa against the other Mahratta Sovereigns, who had slighted or impugned it. He was, however, a most unsatisfactory character to deal with,—weak in understanding and deceitful in negotiation, and, at the same time, deficient in the courage which the Mahratta Chieftains usually possessed. He was completely under the influence of a worthless and mischievous minister, named Trimbakji, who had endeared himself to him by professions of boundless devotion towards him, expressing himself willing to commit any atrocity on his behalf, even to the killing of a cow—which is a very heinous offence in the eyes

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of a Hindu. He was guilty of a far greater crime. He caused an ambassador from the Gaikawar of Baroda, a Brahman of the highest birth and position, to be treacherously assassinated. This was a social and political crime of such magnitude that the Government could not overlook it. Elphinstone made the demand that Trimbakji should be surrendered, with which the Peshwa was reluctantly obliged to comply. The guilty favourite was accordingly delivered up, and placed in confinement in Tanna, a fort in the island of Salsette. He was not there long. A Mahratta, disguised as a horsekeeper, entered the service of the commandant of the fort, and contrived to effect his escape. For many months he could not be found, and it was strongly suspected that he was concealed in the neighbourhood of Poona, with the connivance of the Peshwa himself. His proximity to the capital made itself felt by continual intrigues and constant excitement.

There was no doubt that the Peshwa, though outwardly friendly, was preparing to join the other Mahratta Sovereigns in war against the English Government. The policy enjoined on Elphinstone was to endeavour to preserve peace, and to stave off hostilities as long as he possibly could, while the British forces were busy elsewhere. He performed this task with quiet heroism and firmness. No one, when visiting the Residency, could have guessed that anything out of the common was going on; but everything that was being done at the Peshwa's Court was accurately known and carefully watched. Mahratta troops were being brought into the city of Poona; overtures were being made to the

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British sepoys, tempting them from their fidelity; efforts were being made to corrupt the officials at the Residency, and even the British officers. Elphinstone, firm and dignified in manner and address, yet vigilant and ever on the alert, wrote for reinforcements to be sent the English force in the cantonment near Poona; and, directly they arrived, he ordered the cantonment to be removed to Kirki, a few miles from the capital, which was a more convenient and defensible position. This looked like a retreat, and the inhabitants of Poona, especially the military portion of them, became openly insolent and aggressive. In a few days, the rupture occurred. On November 5, 1816, the Residency was attacked, and Elphinstone, with his suite, had only just time to leave it before it was destroyed by fire, and with it his valuable documents, which proved an irreparable loss. He repaired to the English camp at Kirki. The whole Mahratta army was pouring out of Poona to attack the small, but compact, English force. The sight was described by Elphinstone himself as most impressive: The earth resounded with the tramp of armed men, as they rushed forward, waving flags, brandishing spears, and blowing trumpets. The Resident, dropping his character as a Civilian, and almost assuming command of the English army, met them with firmness. Quiet discipline prevailed, and very soon the Peshwa's army, discomfited and dispirited, took refuge behind the walls of Poona.

In a few days General Smith arrived with further reinforcements. The Peshwa's unwieldy army fled at the first advance, and the city of Poona was at the mercy of the English. Elphinstone's first desire was to protect the city, and to see that no outrage of any kind

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should occur on its occupation. Nothing could be better than the conduct of the victorious troops. Baji Row, the Peshwa, fled. Negotiations were entered into with him through Sir John Malcolm. He himself received an ample allowance from the Government of India, and his territories were added to the English possessions. Once more Elphinstone laid down the sword and took up the pen. He was appointed Commissioner of the Poona territories. Before leaving this portion of his life, we quote the following eulogy on his conduct during these military operations which fell from the eloquent lips of Canning: "Mr. Elphinstone, —a name distinguished in the literature as well as the politics of the East, exhibited, on that trying occasion, military courage and skill which, though valuable accessories to diplomatic talents, we are not entitled to require as necessary qualifications for civil employment. On that, and not on that occasion only, but on many others in the course of this singular campaign, Mr. Elphinstone displayed talents and resources which would have rendered him no mean General in a country where Generals are of no mean excellence and reputation."* We may add that he had in view the welfare of the people of India quite as much as the honour of England. If Pindari hordes and Mahratta armies had been suffered to overrun Central India with impunity, a time of misery and rapine would have ensued which would have rendered desolate almost every Hindu home in that Province.

* *Lives of Indian Officers*, by Sir J. W. Kaye. London: Strahan & Co., 1873, Vol. 1, p. 394.

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While Sir John Malcolm was appointed to govern the Province of Malwa, Elphinstone's task was to administer the country round Poona. He entered on the work of pacification with hearty good-will, and with the real love of a true Anglo-Indian statesman for the people themselves. The grand principle on which he undertook this congenial duty was to make no sudden changes; but honestly to endeavour to rebuild the fabric of Government on the old foundation, introducing changes only when absolutely necessary, and then fitting them into the time-honoured principles of the ancient tenure of land, and of a simple administration of justice suited to the primitive habits of the people. It has been well said that more than "half a century ago our statesmen, in a ceded or conquered country, held it to be their first duty to learn thoroughly the manner in which the people of India had governed themselves, before prescribing the manner of governing for them."*

One point on which Elphinstone was very strong, was to prevent the destruction of the old Mahratta families. He was most careful to inquire into the tenures on which the higher classes held their estates, and to deal with them both justly and generously. The ancient landowners were retained in possession of their freehold estates, especially where the title to them had been held from the time of the Mogul Emperors or of the Mahratta Sovereigns. Acting on this principle, he recommended the restoration of some of the conquered territories to the family of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty;

* Kaye's *Lives*, Vol. I. p. 396.

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and, the Governor-General having given his consent, one of the descendants of this great Mahratta Chief, was placed in possession of a considerable tract of country as the Raja of Satara. The national feeling of the Mahratta people was pleased at this graceful concession.

It is stated that it was Elphinstone's "desire to establish the new system of Government in all things, as much as possible, in conformity with the genius of the people."* There was wisdom, as well as kindness, in this policy; and in his wish thus to gratify the feelings of the people lay the true secret of his success, and it secured the foundation not only of the affection with which his memory has since been regarded, but also of the stability of the Government. Good government always depends on the confidence of the people governed. Elphinstone was particularly anxious that these principles should be extended not only to the system for the collection of the revenue, but also to the administration of justice. No one could have been more alive to the defects of the swift and rough style of the Mahratta judicial procedure, and yet he deprecated the too sudden introduction of the surer, but more cumbrous, system of English judicial forms. He determined, therefore, to interfere as little as possible with former usages, and to trust to time for the introduction of necessary reforms. "The plan I have proposed," he wrote, "has many obvious and palpable defects, and many more will, no doubt, appear when its operations are fully observed. It has this advantage that it leaves unimpaired the institutions, the opinions, and the feelings

* Kaye's *Lives*, Vol. I, p. 402.

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that have hitherto kept the community together; and that, as its fault is meddling too little, it may be gradually remedied by interfering when urgently required. An opposite plan, if it fails, fails entirely; it has destroyed everything that could supply its place, and, when it sinks, the whole frame of society sinks with it. This plan has another advantage likewise, that if it does not provide complete instructions for the decision of suits, it keeps clear of the causes that produce litigation. It makes no great changes in the laws, and it leads to no revolution in the state of property. The established practice, also, though it be worse than another proposed in its room, will be less grievous to the people, who have accommodated themselves to the present defects, and are scarcely aware of their existence; while every fault in a new system, and perhaps many things that are not faults, would be severely felt for want of this adaptation."* These particulars have been given to show what a wise, prudent, and thoughtful administrator Elphinstone was, and the touchstone of his entire policy was that "he had studied all classes of the people, and had tried to think and to feel with them."† He knew better than most men that the Hindus have a peculiar dread of violent changes; and, by humouring their innocent prejudices, he carried them with him, and induced them to feel easy, happy, and contented during the introduction of English rule.

Though ruling, however, with a gentle hand, Elphinstone could be stern and inexorable when occasion needed. So great a change in the administration as we

* Kaye's *Lives*, Vol. I, p. 403. † *Ibid.*, p. 398.

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have been describing was, of course, provocative of plots and intrigues among the upper classes of a notoriously intriguing people; and, when a conspiracy was brought to light, which was intended to result in the massacre of all the Europeans in Poona, and in the restoration of the Peshwa to power, the authors of it were severely punished. The country, however, remained tranquil, and his own fame as an administrator was placed on even a firmer and surer basis than it had been before.

In the year 1819 the Government of Bombay became vacant, and, with unanimous approval, Elphinstone was selected to fill that important post. The time during which he was Governor of Bombay was peculiarly tranquil. He was not called on to manage the affairs of state during a period of political excitement such as he had himself passed through during the days of Mahratta turmoil and intrigue; but, nevertheless, he contrived to leave behind him an imperishable name as an able and a beneficent ruler, for, as it has been justly said, "he made for himself an enduring place in the hearts of the people." Reginald Heber, then Bishop of Calcutta, was particularly struck, while on a visit to Bombay, with the admirable administration of Elphinstone. "His policy," wrote that sweet and saintly man, "appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No Government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the

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administration of justice to the people in their own languages, in the degree in which he employs the people in official situations, and the countenance which he extends to all the personages of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of Government pursued in those Provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements."*

The principal subject to which Elphinstone devoted his attention, while Governor of Bombay, was, as Bishop Heber stated in the above quotation, the improvement of education. But little had then been done in the direction of the careful and systematic education of the people. Elphinstone encouraged them in their own efforts, and promised them the stimulus of Government assistance. In fact, he was one of the first English statesmen in India to act upon the principle that Government aid to individual exertion was necessary for the development of a really national system of education. The inhabitants of Bombay were prepared to follow his guidance, and the well-known munificence of some of their citizens founded the Elphinstone College in memory of their beloved Governor, and their descendants are to this day among the truest advocates of popular education.

Elphinstone also applied his energies to legislative and judicial reform, and he appointed a Commission under

* Bishop Heber's *Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*. Murray, 1861, Vol. 2, pp. 146, 234, 241.

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his old friend, William Erskine, to prepare a Code of Regulations, which, for many years, formed the law under which that part of the English territories were administered. It needs scarcely be said that, under one who had shown himself so careful not to go counter to Hindu feeling, the new threads were most beautifully interwoven amidst the old woof.

As Governor, Elphinstone's habits were very plain and simple. Whether he was at Bombay itself or on a tour in the provinces, he rose at daybreak, and took a ride for about an hour. He always breakfasted in public, after which he was ready to receive anyone who might desire to speak to him. He then retired for some time, and was engaged in the business of the State. After luncheon, he lay down to rest for a short time, or read some classical book in Latin or Greek. Dinner was at eight, and he rose to retire at ten, going to rest soon after. He frequently travelled through the Presidency of Bombay, and during the tenure of his office as Governor, he visited each district in it twice. While on his tours, there was always an Indian sportsman in his camp; and, when news of game was brought, a holiday would be announced, and a day or two devoted to sport. He was of a bright and happy temperament, and, even to the end of his residence in India, he retained much of the elasticity of spirits, as well as the outward appearance, of youth. "But in the midst of many striking excellences," wrote one of his Secretaries, "that which placed him far above all the great men I have heard of, was his forgetfulness of self and thoughtfulness for others."

Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay for eight years.

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He was succeeded by his old friend and companion in public labour, Sir John Malcolm; and, when he left India, he carried with him the admiration and esteem of the entire community. Several meetings were convened with the object of expressing the feelings of regret with which the various sections of society in Bombay regarded his departure, and several forms of memorial were projected to show this in a substantial manner. The most useful of them were professorships in various subjects, to be known as the Elphinstone Professorships. The only extract from the addresses then presented to him which we consider it appropriate to make, is from the address of the Hindu community, the first signature to which was that of the Raja of Satara, as it was one which, making allowance for a little pardonable exaggeration, accurately represented the feelings of the people for whose welfare he had so long laboured, and whose words gave him considerable satisfaction. "Until you became Commissioner of the Dekkan and Governor of Bombay," they said, "never had we been able to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefits which the British dominion is calculated to produce throughout the whole of India. But having beheld with admiration, for so long a period, the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice, the consideration at all times evinced for the interests and welfare of the people of this country, the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws, the constant endeavour to extend amongst them the inestimable advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the commanding abilities applied to ensure permanent amelioration in the condition of all classes, and to promote their prosperity on the soundest

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principles, we have been led to consider the influence of the British Government as the most important and desirable blessing which the Supreme Being could have bestowed on our land."*

On leaving Bombay, Elphinstone did not return direct to England; but gratified a desire he had long entertained by travelling through lands that have been rendered memorable in sacred and historical literature. He spent two years in visiting Egypt, the Holy Land, Italy, and Greece; and he did not reach England till May, 1829. He was then only fifty years old, and it might have been expected that he would have sought further official occupation in the service of his country; but long residence in a hot climate had affected his health, and he felt that he was not justified in rendering what could on this account be little more than broken service. He was twice offered the responsible position of Governor-General of India; but, being apprehensive that he might break down, and that the interests of the public might thereby suffer, he declined it, though he deeply felt the honour that had been conferred upon him by this double offer.

This twice-repeated offer was most gratifying to Elphinstone, and clearly showed the great appreciation in which his governing powers were held by those in authority, both in the Court of Directors and in the Cabinet. The reason which he gave for declining this honour was the state of his health; but it is interesting to learn what his ideas would have been had he been in a better position in that respect. The following

* Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, Vol. 2, p. 199.

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reflections occur in his diary: "If I were well, I should not so easily decide. The office, as it has been for the last seven or eight years, is anything but desirable, being altogether occupied with retrenchment and details; but nothing is certain in India, and the next man may have an active and important career. This consideration, and the thought of being once more a living man, exerting one's faculties, contending with and surmounting difficulties, and able to give extensive effects to one's wishes and opinions, may have tempted me to consider the offer." Again, a little later he wrote: "The probable employment of the next Governor-General will be like that of the last, economy and details of civil administration, with the amendment of the Code: In economy I never excelled, and for details I should feel the want of that local knowledge I had at Bombay. With respect to the Code, I fear I should be more against sudden changes than would suit the Commissioners, and I should therefore probably have the talents of Macaulay, backed by public opinion at home, to contend with. In foreign politics I should probably be most in my element. . . . My time out there would pass in comparative misery. The enervating and depressing climate, the irritation of constant hurry, the deprivation of the quiet pursuits in which I delight, the constant constraint and publicity of life, would all annoy me very much."

After the change of Ministry at that time, Lord Ellenborough was appointed President of the Board of Control, and meeting Elphinstone one morning in St. James's Park, he urged him to accept this important post. "He several times said how desirable it was that I should go, and that, if I would consent, I should be

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appointed to-morrow. I said I was much flattered to be thought of for such a situation, but my health is really an insuperable impediment. It would affect my activity and my temper, and render me unfit for any station. Besides, there is nothing attractive in a high station with no prospect of high employments."*

After this insight into Elphinstone's mind we feel that, for his own sake, he was wise in making this refusal; but we cannot refrain from expressing the thoughts which arise when we consider what might have been the course of events had he accepted the offer on the last occasion. He would have been Governor-General instead of Lord Auckland. The literary world would have lost his History had he gone to Calcutta; but had he gone, there would most probably have been no Afghan War with all its attendant misery, for there would have been at the head of affairs in India one who knew the Afghans and their history better than any other Englishman, and the reputation and honour of England would have remained untarnished in his hands.

Elphinstone's services were also required in other ways. Lord Ellenborough, when he became President of the Board of Control, was anxious to secure him as the Permanent Under Secretary of that office, his object being for the President to have one who was so highly trusted near him for counsel and advice without removal at a change of Ministry. Elphinstone was touched by this evidence of trust, but declined the position. The next offer was in quite a different direction. There

* Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, Vol. 2, pp. 333–338.

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was a serious crisis in Canadian affairs, and Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, asked him to proceed to that Colony as Commissioner for the purpose of making an inquiry as to the settlement of the disputes between that Colony and the mother country. This offer also was respectfully declined.

During the first part of the thirty years that elapsed after his retirement from the service, he lived in London, and then resided first in one place and afterwards another in the country within easy access of town; but the last twelve years of his life he settled at Hookwood, a pleasant house in Limpsfield, a quiet little village situated in a beautiful part of the country on the borders of Surrey and of Kent. He was chiefly occupied in literary labour. While in India, he had carefully collected valuable material for writing its history. In 1841 his History of India during the Hindu and Muhammadan periods was published, and it received the cordial approval of scholars. Since its publication it has been the standard work on that portion of Indian history, and has passed through several editions, the latest of which was edited by Professor Cowell, of Cambridge.

Elphinstone was frequently consulted by the authorities on Indian affairs. Though living in retirement, he was not permitted to fall into oblivion. He was a keen and critical observer of the current events of Indian politics; and, when he compared the principles on which the policy of the day was founded with those which actuated himself and such friends as Malcolm, Metcalfe, and Munro, the contrast was not always favourable to the more modern ideas. During the last few years of his life, his eyesight failed; and, when no member of his

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family resided with him, he was obliged to secure the services of a hired reader. Though living in retirement he was always pleased to see friends, but he generally preferred that they should visit him one at a time. He survived to hear of the great Military Mutiny of 1857, and the sad events that accompanied it evoked his deepest sympathy. His last written statements were occupied in giving his opinion regarding the arrangements for the Government of India which were rendered necessary by what had then occurred. After a serene and happy old age, retaining his mental faculties to the last, he died, in his eighty-first year, on December 21, 1859,* at Hookwood, amidst the pleasant Surrey hills.

Thus fell asleep one of the soundest and most thoughtful of Indian statesmen. Singularly modest and diffident of his own powers, and most retiring in manner, he was as firm and self-controlled in action as he was sagacious in counsel. Western India owes to him the foundations of the stability and tranquillity which has characterized it in later years, while Hindus and Muhammadans alike have received from him a thoroughly just and discriminating record of the history of their country during some of its most eventful and spirit-stirring periods.

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* This is the date on the tombstone in Limpsfield Churchyard.

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LORD METCALFE.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF INDIA

CHAPTER IV.

LORD METCALFE:

THE LIBERATOR OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

FROM A.D. 1801—1838.

" At times our Britain cannot rest,
At times her steps are swift and rash;
She moving, at her girdle clash
The golden keys of East and West.

" Not swift or rash, when late she lent
The sceptres of her West, her East,
To one, that ruling has increased
Her greatness and her self-content."

Tennyson.

CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE was born at Calcutta on January 30, 1785. He was the second son of an officer in the Bengal Army, who, retiring early from the service, became a Director of the East India Com-

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pany, a member of Parliament, and a baronet of the United Kingdom. Having thus the power to bestow what were then considered very lucrative appointments, he sent his elder son as a Writer, the name by which young Civilians were known in those days, to China, and the subject of this memoir in the same capacity to Bengal. Charles Metcalfe was educated at Eton, where he was a studious boy, delighting more in his books than in athletic sports and games, and he attracted the attention and regard of Dr. Goodall, then master of the house in which he boarded, who subsequently became head master and provost of that celebrated College. He left Eton at the early age of fifteen, and before he was sixteen he had sailed for India.

Metcalfe landed at Calcutta on January 3, 1801. Lord Wellesley was at that time Governor-General. A short while previously, the Court of Directors had taken into serious consideration the carelessness and extravagance of their Civil Servants in India, and they had written a thoughtful despatch on the desecration of the Christian Sabbath day, the general disregard of religion, and the luxury of living in Bengal. "It is," they wrote with wise prescience, "on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends—on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance, and their public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm the excessive growth of fashionable amusements and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind and

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impair its nobler qualities—to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, and to beget an aversion to serious occupation." As one remedy of this evil, Lord Wellesley conceived the idea of establishing a College at Calcutta, through which all young Civilians were to pass, and in which they were to study the languages and laws of the country and the regulations of Government, so as to render them better fitted for their future duties. Charles Metcalfe was the first student admitted into this new College.

The young Civilian applied himself diligently to his studies, but sorely against the grain. He was very home-sick, and before he had been a year in India, he wrote entreating his father to obtain him an appointment in some public office in London. Before he received his father's reply, encouraging him to persevere, he was in better spirits, having been appointed Assistant to Colonel Collins, then Resident at the Court of Dowlut Row Scindia at Oojein, and an old friend of his father's. The long palanquin journey from Calcutta in the cold season did him good, and restored the buoyancy of his spirits. He did not, however, remain long at Oojein. Colonel Collins and he did not get on well together, and he resigned his appointment. By September of the same year he was back again in Calcutta.

Soon after his return thither, Metcalfe was appointed an Assistant in the office of the Chief Secretary to Government, and in the following April he received a similar appointment, but one which was really a stepping-stone to future influence and power. He was made an assistant in the office of the Governor-

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General himself. It was the idea of Lord Wellesley that a certain number of the most promising young Civilians should be trained under his own superintendence, and thus become familiar with his own views regarding Indian politics, so that they might be prepared to carry them into effect when subsequently appointed to high positions in various parts of the country. Being young, enthusiastic, and easily influenced, they became cordially attached to Lord Wellesley himself, and thorough believers in the wisdom of his policy and plans. It was the eve of the great Mahratta war. The armies of General Arthur Wellesley and General Lake were approaching the territories of the reigning Mahratta Sovereigns. The political events that led to this memorable war were drawing to an end; and a careful training extending over a year and a half under the eye of the chief actor in these events was invaluable.

We here give the animated and spirit-stirring account which Kaye gave of the day before the declaration of war in the Governor-General's Office. "It was certain," he wrote, "that no statesmanship, that no diplomacy, could avert the inevitable collision. Whatever may have been the wishes of the Governor-General, I am afraid it cannot be said that the boys in his office were very desirous to arrest the war. So it happened that, when intelligence reached Calcutta that the anticipated rupture had actually taken place, and that Colonel Collins had quitted Scindia's Court, Metcalfe and his associates were thrown into a state of excitement in which there was no great intermixture of pain. It was, indeed, a memorable day. For some time, 'the glorious

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little man,' as his disciples affectionately called Lord Wellesley, had been pacing one of the halls of Government House, girding himself up for the approaching crisis; and now he was prepared to meet it. Aided by Edmonstone, the Political Secretary, whose knowledge was as ready as it was extensive, he now dictated instructions to Colonel Collins, now to General Lake, now to Arthur Wellesley, now to John Malcolm, and now to Close and Kirkpatrick, the Residents at the Courts of the Peshwa and the Nizam. All day long these weighty despatches grew beneath the hands of the young scribes. The brief twilight of the Indian evening passed, and left the work only half done. But still by the bright lamp-light the young writers resolutely plied their pens, as hour after hour the Governor-General continued to dictate the despatches, upon which the fate of principalities depended. Words of encouragement little needed came freely from him, as he directed this great work. And still as they wrote and wrote these weighty despatches, upon which the events of the great war were to turn, he told them ever and anon that their work would soon be done, and that there was a table spread for them in the banquet-room, at which they might presently drink success to the campaign. Though it was now the exhausting month of August, and rest and food were denied to them through many long hours, there was not one of them who flagged at his desk. Sustained by their youthful enthusiasm, they continued at their work till past midnight; then, weary, hungry, and athirst, they were conducted to the table which had been spread sumptuously for their entertainment. It was a

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festival not soon to be forgotten. A special message from Lord Wellesley instructed them to give full vent to their hilarity, and not to think that they were bound to be quiet because they were in Government House. These incidents were surely calculated to bind such warm-hearted earnest youths as Charles Metcalfe by the strongest feelings of personal attachment and fidelity to Lord Wellesley."*

When war was declared, Metcalfe, then scarcely nineteen years of age, was appointed Political Assistant to General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, being, in fact, the representative of the Governor-General at the head quarters of the army. The bluff old soldier in command was by no means pleased at the idea of the youthful Civilian being sent into his camp, and regarded him more in the character of a hindrance than as a help. This feeling naturally extended to his officers, and it was made very plain that Metcalfe was looked upon as if he were out of his proper position. Evidently feeling this treatment, he quietly resolved to show that he was not deficient in soldierly qualities; and when a breach was effected in the walls of the fortress of Deeg, to which the General had laid siege soon after he had arrived in the camp, he volunteered to accompany the storming party, and he was one of the first to enter the fort. This gallant conduct completely altered the opinion of the brave old General, who ever after called him his "little stormer."

Metcalfe's duties at this time were to correspond

* *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, by John William Kaye. London: Bentley, 1854, Vol. I, p. 99.

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with the Indian authorities, to enter into negotiation with the enemy when practicable, and to communicate with the Government on all matters of importance. The chief enemy to whom General Lake was opposed, was Holkar, an active Mahratta Chief, who boasted of what he called "the empire of his saddle." Metcalfe accompanied the frequent expeditions after him, and, when he was fairly brought to bay, conducted the negotiations with him in person. He was admitted into the Mahratta's reception tent, and the account he gave of this interview is so graphic and picturesque, that it deserves to be quoted. Holkar had fled before the British troops into the Punjab, and the interview between the young English Civilian and the Mahratta Chief was held on the banks of the Sutlej. By the side of Holkar was Ameer Khan, a celebrated Pathan mercenary, who had acquired the favour of both Scindia and Holkar, and who afterwards proved a most troublesome opponent to the British Government.

"The One-eyed," (a nickname for Holkar), wrote Metcalfe to a friend, "is very grave, his countenance expressive, his manners and conversation easy. The same countenance, however, which was strongly expressive of joy when I saw him, would look very black under the influence of rage or any dark passions. A little lap-dog was on his throne—a strange play-fellow for Holkar. The jewels on his neck were invaluably rich. All his chiefs were present. Ameer Khan is a blackguard in his looks, and affected, on the occasion of my reception, to be particularly fierce by rubbing his coat over with gunpowder, and assuming in every way the air of a common soldier. But for his proximity

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to Holkar, he would have passed for one. I consider his behaviour to have been affectation. He had the impudence to ask from me my name, which must have been known to him; and his conduct was so evidently designed to bring himself into notice that I felt gratification in disappointing the unknown impudent, and, answering plainly to his question, I turned from him and continued a good-humoured conversation with Holkar."*

When peace was proclaimed, Metcalfe was appointed First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi. He had been there only two years, when he was sent on a most important embassy to the Punjab. An uneasy feeling had arisen in the minds of those in authority at Calcutta with regard to French intrigues in several Oriental Courts, and it was determined to despatch embassies to some of the potentates concerned with the object of counteracting them. While Colonel Malcolm was commissioned to proceed for this purpose to Teheran, and Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone to Peshawar, Metcalfe was sent to the Court of the Maharaja Ranjit Sing. The negotiations were protracted and tedious. He conducted his part of the proceedings with a singular combination of firmness, patience, and prudence. He endeavoured to impress on the mind of the great ruler of the Punjab the advantage he would acquire by taking his part in frustrating the anticipated advance of the French through Persia and Afghanistan; but Ranjit Sing was shrewd enough to perceive that the advantage would not be wholly on his side. He eventually con-

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 197.

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sented, however, to enter into a treaty of general friendship and alliance with the English Government.

After the conclusion of this treaty to the entire satisfaction of the Government, Lord Minto, who was then Governor-General, invited Metcalfe to Calcutta, and took him in his suite to Madras. After a brief stay at the Court of Scindia as Resident, Metcalfe was appointed Resident at Delhi, where, for seven years and more, he did most excellent service to the State. At the early age of twenty-six he had attained one of the highest and most influential positions in India. His duties were both political and administrative. He was brought into contact not only with the nominal Emperor of Delhi, but with the Sovereigns of the adjoining States, and the extensive territory around Delhi was under his management as the representative of the British Government. During the period of his administration the second great Mahratta war took place; and, although he took no immediate part in it, he contributed materially to its success by the negotiations which he conducted with the neighbouring States, and by preserving tranquillity in the country over which he had direct control. His principal achievement during the war was bringing to terms the Pathan freebooter, Ameer Khan, of whom mention has already been made.

As the main object of these sketches is to show the beneficial effect of British rule on the people themselves, an outline is given of the principles on which Metcalfe conducted the management of the territory entrusted to his charge. There is no doubt that the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people improved in a

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marked degree under his thoughtful administration. The revenue system was based on what was called the Village Settlement. Agreements were made between the Government and the head men of each village; but the settlements were only for brief periods, and Metcalfe was anxious that they should be made for periods of longer duration. "Settlements should be made," he wrote, "for periods of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred years—the longer, perhaps, the better. At all events, the periods should be sufficiently long to admit of considerable profit being made by the cultivators from their own labour and enterprise. This is the very essence of the system."* He then describes the advantage which these long settlements are calculated to bestow: "In exchange for insecurity, it is in the power of Government to confer security. Instead of wealth lawlessly acquired by opposition to the Government, and hastily spent to avoid plunder, we may confer the power of acquiring solid, legitimate, and lasting wealth, which shall be cherished, applauded, and upheld by the Government, and which shall be a source of consequence in the eyes of the people, and of flattering distinction on the part of the rulers. Then, instead of dissatisfied and disaffected land-holders truly complaining that we have injured them by diminishing their consequence and their profits, we may expect to have land-holders bound to us by the strongest ties of self-interest, and acknowledging, from irresistible conviction, the incomparable benefits of our rule."† It is satisfactory to

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 367.
† *Ibid.*, p. 368.

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state that the system thus warmly advocated by Metcalfe contained the principles on which the entire Settlement of the North-West Provinces was subsequently based. We think it well to quote the following noble sentiments, which, though immediately applicable to his opinions on the Settlement of the land revenue, refer equally to the whole subject of British rule in India: "There may be those who would argue that it is injudicious to establish a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead, at a future period, to dangerous consequences. But supposing the remote possibility of these evil consequences, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantage from our subjects; but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections. The world is governed by an irresistible Power, which gives and takes away dominion; and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name throughout all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but, if we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of danger at a remote period, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt of mankind."*

A final quotation regarding this period of his Indian service gives a summary of the benefits which he had

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 369.

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helped to confer on the people during his administration. " Capital punishment," he said, " was discouraged, and finally abolished. Swords and other implements of intestine warfare, to which the people were prone, were turned into ploughshares, nor figuratively alone, but literally also; villagers being made to give up their arms, which were returned to them in the shape of agricultural implements. Suttees (widows being burnt alive on the funeral pyre of their husbands) were prohibited. The rights of Government were better maintained than in other Provinces, by not being subjected to the irreversible decisions of its judicial servants, with no certain laws for their guidance and control. The rights of the people were better preserved, by the maintenance of the village constitutions, and by avoiding those pernicious sales of lands for arrears of revenue, which, in other Provinces, have tended so much to destroy the hereditary rights of the mass of the agricultural community."*

Notwithstanding the eminence of his position and the beneficial nature of his employment, it appears from his letters at this time, that Metcalfe was in a very morbid, and rather discontented, frame of mind. Being of a most loving and affectionate disposition, he felt keenly the absence from his relatives and home, and this feeling tended to make him unsociable and depressed. Notwithstanding his own ideas regarding himself, his friends found him the reverse of what he called himself— " unsociable and morose." Courteous in manner, hospitable, and generous, he made the Residency at Delhi

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 471.

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the centre of attraction to a host of friends. The place was endeared to him by many new friendships; and, contrary to the feelings expressed when writing to England, he afterwards regarded his stay there with the happiest recollections. The time had now come for him to leave. He was summoned at the end of 1818, by Lord Hastings, then Governor-General, to occupy the position of Private and Political Secretary to Government, and he at once proceeded to Calcutta to assume charge of this very important office. He did not relish the work, however, and he was glad after a few months to find himself free.

He was appointed Resident at the Court of His Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad. This was a position quite after his own heart. The representative of the British Government at the Court of the Nizam was one of the most influential officers in India. The rank of the Nizam, as one of the foremost reigning Sovereigns, demanded that the greatest prudence and care should be exercised in all the relations of Government with him, and the administration of the extensive territory under his dominion was always a subject of the closest concern to the Government of India. Both political and domestic considerations required that relations with the Nizam should be cordial and friendly, while at the same time, the keenest vigilance should be exercised. Metcalfe left Calcutta in the second week of November, 1820, and was received by the Nizam in state on the 25th of that month. He found the internal administration of the country in the most distracted condition. The Government had been involved in pecuniary transactions to such an extent that the finances were reduced

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to the lowest ebb. This led to oppression and injustice in the collection of the revenue, and the very first subject to which he was obliged to direct his attention, was the lessening of the burden cast upon the shoulders of the people. As a remedy for this over-taxation, he divided the country into certain portions, and commissioned his own Assistants and some of the most trustworthy of the Nizam's officials to undertake tours, for the purpose of regulating and checking the collection of the revenue. He was very careful lest this policy should be regarded as having the slightest tendency towards the introduction of British rule. It was entirely in the interests of the Nizam himself. "These officers should take no part," he wrote, "in the collection of the revenues, nor in the general administration of the country. They should not have any peculiar official designation founded on their duties, lest it should be considered as a partial introduction of our rule; and if, at any time, there should be a reasonable ground of hope that a district could be managed safely without such a check, I should think it a duty to withdraw the officer from that district, though I have no expectation, I confess, that such is likely to be the case. This appears to me to be the only way of preserving the Nizam's Government in all its parts entire, with the addition of the check of European integrity, which can at any time be removed without damaging any other part of the edifice, if at any time it can be dispensed with. If the Nizam's officers were allowed to go on without some such check, it would soon end, I think, in our being compelled to take the country entirely into our own hands."*

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 334.

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The principal subject, however, that characterized Metcalfe's official career at Hyderabad was the determined effort he made to relieve the Nizam from debt. Money had been lent at exorbitant interest chiefly by an English firm of bankers and merchants connected with both Calcutta and Hyderabad, the members of which were in good position in society, and acquainted with the highest officials as well as with himself. The conflict on this subject was long and bitter. It occasioned him much anxiety, and brought upon him much obloquy. For a season it created a breach in the friendship between the Governor-General and himself. It is not necessary to enter into details, and it is sufficient to state that the loans made to the Nizam's Government had tended to invest with political influence persons who had no official authority. The evil was eventually suppressed; but the controversy not only weighed heavily on Metcalfe's mind, but affected his health. It was so distasteful to him in every way that nothing would have induced him to undertake it except a strong sense of duty, which was always paramount with him. Notwithstanding this unpleasant official controversy, he seems to have thoroughly enjoyed his position and surroundings at Hyderabad; and, when he was summoned to perform fresh duties for the State elsewhere, he was as reluctant to leave Hyderabad as he had been to quit Delhi. While Resident there, he inherited the title of baronet. His father had died in the year 1814, and his elder brother had also died leaving only a daughter, so that the title descended to him as the second son.

Duties similar to those he had already performed were now before him. He had been succeeded at Delhi

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by his old friend, Sir David Ochterlony. That most gallant officer had, in the opinion of the Government, acted in certain negotiations with precipitance and want of caution, which had brought on a war with the Raja of Bhurtpore; and Sir Charles Metcalfe was re-appointed to his old post as Resident of Delhi. Preparations were at the time being made for the siege of the strong fortress of Bhurtpore, which, in General Lake's campaign some twenty years before, had successfully resisted an assault of the English troops, and which was now very naturally regarded by the people as impregnable. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, commanded the army destined for this service, and, December 6, 1825, Sir Charles joined his camp. The old military ardour was unextinguished, and, diplomacy having failed, he was one of those who entered the fort with the victorious army. This famous fortress fell on January 18, 1826, and the idea of any stronghold being impregnable to British arms was thoroughly exploded. Sir Charles Metcalfe had afterwards the pleasure of placing on the throne the young Raja whose uncle had been unlawfully defending Bhurtpore.

In the following year Sir Charles Metcalfe obtained a seat in the Council at Calcutta; and there he became a great friend of Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded Lord Amherst as Governor-General. Indeed, so highly did the Governor-General esteem his services that, when his tenure of office in the Supreme Council was drawing to an end, he wrote to the President of the Board of Control, requesting that the usual term, which was five years, might be extended. "Sir Charles Metcalfe," he said, "will be a great loss to me. He

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quite ranks with Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Mr. Elphinstone. If it be intended to form a second local Government in Bengal, he, undoubtedly, ought to be at the head. I strongly recommend him. Whilst he has always maintained the most perfect independence of character and conduct, he has been to me a most zealous supporter and friendly colleague."* According to this urgent request, Sir Charles's time in Council was prolonged, and soon afterwards he was appointed Governor of a new Presidency, with its head quarters at Agra, which was subsequently changed into the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces. He had scarcely assumed charge of his Government, when he received the intelligence that Lord William Bentinck was obliged, owing to ill-health, to return to England, and he was summoned to Calcutta to undertake the Government of India during the interval that must elapse before the arrival of another Governor-General.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was Provisional Governor-General for about a year. His tenure of this high office was rendered memorable by the passing of an Act giving freedom to the Press in India. This event caused considerable controversy at the time, and it did not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors; but it remained uncancelled, and, under it, the Indian press has since been allowed perfect liberty, except in times of strong political excitement and danger. It would be out of place to discuss in this brief memoir the wide question of the propriety of the policy by which the

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 183.

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Press was emancipated, and it will suffice if we quote some of the sentiments that actuated Sir Charles Metcalfe in coming to this decision, as they clearly indicate the affection he bore to the people of India, and his great desire for their highest welfare. Referring to those who regarded the liberty of the Press with doubt, he wrote: "If their argument be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could be preserved as a part of the British Empire only by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease. But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our Empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy, and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future Government of India, it is clearly our duty as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people."

"The promotion of knowledge, of which the liberty of the Press is one of the most efficient instruments, is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be that we are permitted by Divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the

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establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are, doubtless, here for higher purposes, one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences, of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the Press."*

On March 4, 1836, Lord Auckland, who had meanwhile been appointed Governor-General, assumed charge of the Government at Calcutta; and Sir Charles Metcalfe returned to the North-West Provinces, not as Governor, as had originally been proposed, but as Lieutenant-Governor. He did this in the discharge of what he considered a public duty; but, as he was under the impression that he had lost the confidence of the Court of Directors, he soon resigned the Service, and on February 15, 1838, he returned to his native land, after an unbroken career of 37 years, most of which were spent in some of the most influential positions in the State.

Sir Charles Metcalfe naturally looked forward to a period of refreshment and repose. His services were, however, required elsewhere. The patience and tact which he had exhibited in the East were to be utilized in the West. He was first sent by the Government of the Queen to the West Indies as Governor of Jamaica, where strong race animosities had arisen between the coloured and the white population; and he was subsequently appointed Governor-General of Canada, in which Colony party faction ran high, and incipient dis-

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 262.

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affection to the mother country had appeared. The only circumstance connected with Sir Charles Metcalfe's services out of India that requires to be mentioned here is the personal one that, during these years of political anxiety and arduous labour, he was suffering from a fatal disease. It is most touching to read how patiently he bore this terrible trial, which at last affected both his eyesight and his speech; but he accepted these high offices from an irresistible sense of duty, and he remained at his post, faithful even to the last, so long as it seemed that duty to his Sovereign required him to stay. The Colonial Minister, writing to him near the close of his Government in Canada, said: "The Queen is aware that your devotion to her service has led you, amidst physical suffering, beneath which ordinary men would have given way, to remain at your post till the last possible moment. The Queen highly estimates this proof of your public spirit; and, in accepting your proffered resignation, which, in the present circumstances, she feels it impossible to decline, Her Majesty has commanded me to express her entire approval of the ability and prudence with which you have conducted the affairs of a very difficult Government, her sense of the loss which the public service is about to sustain, and her deep regret for the cause which renders it unavoidable."* To mark her appreciation of his services, she created him a peer of the realm. He reached England on December 16, 1845.

Lord Metcalfe returned only to die. A small estate had been purchased for him near Basingstoke. His last months were spent there in the society of one of

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 600.

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his sisters. Quietly and courageously, with firm faith and trust in God, he looked forward to the end of his earthly life. His death was singularly beautiful and sweet. Reticent and reserved, as many true Christians are on the most cherished feelings of the heart, his faith shone out clearly at the close of his career. He had a firm hold on the great central doctrine of the Gospel—atonement by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. "He had long known the way of salvation," wrote his biographer, "and if, as the grave opened to receive him, he was sometimes cheered by the thought of the hungry whom he had fed, the naked whom he had clothed, and the houseless whom he had sheltered; he did not, on that account, lean for support on his own merits,"* but on those of Christ. Blinded by his malady, he was unable to read the sacred Scriptures, but his sister daily read aloud passages containing the assurance of forgiveness to all believers, and solaced him by playing on the harp, in which he delighted. The last sounds that reached him were these harmonious strains, and the last words he was heard to whisper were, "How sweet those sounds are!" Soon after he peacefully sank to rest, with a calm smile on his long tortured and disfigured face, on September 5, 1846.

Thus gently fell asleep one of the brightest ornaments of the Indian Civil Service. Trained under a great ruler, the Marquis Wellesley, in what he himself called "the school of virtue, integrity, and honour," he early manifested a singular aptitude for governing men. He

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 628.

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was peculiarly distinguished for devotion to duty, fearlessness of conduct, and honesty of purpose. His chief failing was an over-sensitiveness to the opinion of others, especially of those who, like the Court of Directors, were placed over him in authority; but the fear of man never caused him to swerve a hair's breadth from the direct path of public probity. Above all, he had an enduring patience which enabled him eventually to carry his opinions into practice. The abiding principle underlying all his character and conduct, was trust in God, and grateful thankfulness for all His gracious dealings towards him, which induced a continual cheerfulness of temper and manner. "If I am really the happy man you suppose me to be," he wrote to a friend at a time of peculiar stress and strain, "I will tell you, as far as I know myself, the secret of my happiness. I live in a state of fervent and incessant gratitude to God for the favours and mercies which I have experienced throughout my life. The feeling is so strong that it often overflows in tears, and is so rooted that I do not think any misfortune could shake it. It leads to constant devotion and firm content; and, though I am not free from those vexations and disturbances to which the weak temper of man is subject, I am guarded by that feeling against any lasting depression."

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JAMES THOMASON.

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CHAPTER V.

JAMES THOMASON:

THE PRINCE OF INDIAN CIVILIANS.

A.D. 1822—1853.

"Yes, surely as God lives, the day
Of peace He promised shall be ours;
To fold the flag of war and lay
The sword and spear to rust away,
And sow the ghastly fields with flowers."

Whittier.

IN the early years of the last century, there was in Calcutta a little group of attached Christian friends, whose principal object was the spread of the Gospel among the people of India. The best known among them were Daniel Corrie, David Brown, and Thomas Thomason. James Thomason, the subject of the following brief memoir, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Thomason, one of the above-mentioned group of friends. He was born on May 3, 1804, at Little Shelford, a pretty village near Cambridge, where his father was living. The Rev. Thomas Thomason

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was one of the curates of Charles Simeon, then the Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, and Little Shelford was also under his charge. The following is a description of the house and grounds, and shows in what beautiful surroundings his son, the eminent Anglo-Indian statesman, was born. "Do you remember," Mr. Thomason wrote to his mother, "a very pleasant spot, where there are two bridges, and you have a sweet view on both sides? Close to that spot is our mansion; the walks extend down to the river. A more beautiful place I never saw: it is the garden of Cambridgeshire. When I look around me it seems a dream: I can scarcely persuade myself it belongs to me. Should the sun be very hot, depend upon it, I have taken my seat under the shade of a thick chestnut. Mr. Simeon has a room on the ground floor, which opens into a delightful pleasure-garden, surrounded by a wall, where he can walk privately, in which he so much delights. One door of his room opens into my study, so that we are as near each other as possible."*

When James Thomason was four years old, his father obtained an appointment as Chaplain of the East India Company, and took him to Calcutta. On the voyage the vessel was wrecked, and the passengers, with some difficulty and after much privation, were providentially rescued.

At the rather advanced age of ten, James Thomason was sent to England, where he was placed under the care of the Rev. Charles Simeon, his father's intimate

* *Simeon's Memoirs*, by the Rev. William Carus. London: Hatchard & Son, 1848, p. 127.

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friend, who had long lived at Cambridge, where he had been of the greatest service in stirring up religious activity and life among the members of the University. In fact, no man, perhaps, was ever the instrument, under God, of infusing more spiritual life among the young students at Cambridge. He was unmarried, but he took the tenderest care of the boy who had thus been entrusted to his charge. As was naturally to be expected, he was rather fussy and fidgetty regarding the ordinary details of everyday life; but James Thomason owed a very great deal to the careful training he received from this eminent servant of God, just at the very time that his youthful mind was most plastic and impressive. We quote a few sentences from Simeon's letters on his reception, showing the amusing manner in which the old bachelor entered on this responsible charge. "We shall steer the medium," he wrote, "between excess of care and a want of care. You may be assured we shall have a hundred eyes, whilst we shall seem to have only a dozen. Every attention which he can have, he will; but all tempered with wisdom and discretion. Flannels will be ready to put on at a moment, if wanted; but, stout as he is, I think it better not to endanger making him too tender." "We have got him," he added, "safe and sound. Be assured that, if I were indeed his father, I could not feel much more for him than I do. He was imprudently fishing by the riverside, without coat, or hat, or waistcoat. Hearing only that he was fishing with little James Farish, I went, full of anxiety, to find him; and finding him in such a situation, it was almost a dagger to my heart. But no evil occurred. I began to feel how great a matter I had

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undertaken; but I do not repent, and trust I shall never give you cause to repent."* In after years, this intimacy was the source of the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to both. After the younger man had left for India, the venerable Simeon wrote as follows regarding him, showing that his affection for him still remained undimmed: "I delight to hear such blessed tidings of dear James. We bear him in sweet remembrance, and most affectionately long for his welfare in every possible view."†

His having been kept in India longer than English children usually are, was prejudicial to his health, and rendered him backward in his studies. He was always rather delicate in constitution, which may be attributed to this cause; and, according to the common phrase, he outgrew his strength. He was tall and stooping in his gait, and, in later years, he had an accident at Agra, which caused him to limp the last few years of his life. We mention this here, because, although the mental deficiency occasioned by a late sojourn in India was overcome, the physical weakness was not entirely removed. After remaining a few years at school and then at a private tutor's, James Thomason, having received a Civil appointment, went to the East India Company's College at Haileybury, where he distinguished himself for diligence in his studies, and for uprightness of conduct. He rejoined his father at Calcutta on September 19, 1822. He was reported as qualified for the public service in June of the following year, and in December was appointed Assistant Registrar of the Court of

* *Simeon's Memoirs*, p. 281. † *Ibid.*, p. 412.

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Sudder Adawlut, the highest Court of the Company in Calcutta. From the time he left College, he had assiduously applied himself to the study of Muhammadan Law, to which he had taken a great liking; and the examiners, in awarding him an honorarium for proficiency in this subject, passed a very high eulogium on his attainments both in it and in the Persian language. In 1826 he was appointed acting Judge of the Jungle Mehals. He was, however, compelled, after a very brief term of service, to return to England in the following year, owing to ill-health, leaving Calcutta on February 13, 1827.

After a pleasant stay in his native land of two years' duration, he came back again to Calcutta, where he landed a second time on November 13, 1828. During his stay in England, he became attached to Miss Maynard Eliza Grant, the eldest daughter of Mr. J. W. Grant, of his own Service, better known in Scotland as the Laird of Elchies, near Elgin. He was married to her at Malda, where her father was stationed, on February 19, 1829, and they lived together in happy union for a little more than ten years. After his marriage, he remained some three years in Calcutta in various offices, chiefly connected with the Secretariat. He was thus gaining an intimate acquaintance with the principles of the Indian Government, and with the official discharge of ministerial duty; but it was certainly fortunate for the country that he did not remain for any lengthened period at the capital, as he would thereby have lost the knowledge of the people and of their habits and wants, which can only be thoroughly obtained by immediate contact with them in the practical work of a district officer.

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During this time he served on the General Committee of Public Instruction which had then been formed in Calcutta, and in which he first acquired his interest in the education of the people that afterwards grew into his own more extended schemes in this direction. He performed the responsible duties of the Secretariat so well that, on his leaving, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was the Vice-President in Council, publicly gave him the cordial approbation and thanks of the Government.

On September 18, 1832, Thomason was appointed Collector and Magistrate of Azamgarh. This district, which was to be the scene of the happiest periods of his life, was at that time, somewhat different from the present district of the same name. It was situated to the east of the Kingdom of Oudh, on a gently sloping plain, through which the river Gogra, along its northern boundary, flowed on its way from the Himalayas to the Ganges. The country was generally low, and its principal feature was its numerous lakes and shallow ponds. Several small rivers and innumerable streams flowed through it, so that it was well irrigated, and thus rendered exceedingly fertile. It was a purely agricultural district, eighty per cent. of its inhabitants being cultivators, and the chief crop was sugar-cane.

It had been acquired by treaty from the Nawab of Oudh in 1801, some thirty years before Mr. Thomason went there, and, with the exception of one division which had been permanently assessed, it was under the same loose and undefined land Settlement as the rest of the North-West Provinces. A Revenue Survey was about to be introduced, to be followed by a careful assessment of revenue to last for thirty years, so that

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Thomason had before him abundance of congenial work which would give him much experience in the manifold duties of a Collector, and bring him into continual contact with the people. His head quarters were at the town of Azamgarh, the capital of the district, on the banks of the river Tons, eighty-one miles north of Benares; and here he had a happy and a hospitable home for the next four years and a half. He always looked back to this time in after years with pleasurable remembrance.

Here, to quote the words of his friend and colleague, Sir William Muir, " he not only made and reported on a Revenue Settlement, which gave satisfaction both to the Government and the people, but gained more in knowledge of the country, and in the art of governing, than is commonly gained in a lifetime. To his residence at Azamgarh, he always reverted with delight, and, as he visited it in his annual tours, the memory of domestic happiness and official usefulness, could be traced in the glistening eye and the mingled sympathies, which lighted up his countenance or cast a shadow across it."*

Thomason threw himself heartily into the duties preparatory to the new Settlement and Assessment. He was constantly out in the district, and it was his happiness to be supported by men like Robert Montgomery and Henry Carre Tucker, who afterwards earned for themselves distinguished places among our Anglo-Indian administrators. Carefully prepared instructions were drawn up for the guidance of his European assistants,

* *James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces*, by Sir William Muir. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897, p. 25.

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and of his Indian officials with a view to the great work of Survey and Assessment. Disputes regarding the boundaries of villages and individual holdings had to be adjusted, and abundant opportunities were given him of observing the wants and wishes of the simple agricultural folk committed to his charge. He was both the Collector of the Revenue, and the Magistrate of the district, the former title meaning much more in India than it does in England. He was, in fact, the head and ruler of the whole district. He was, however, always more the Collector than the Magistrate. The assessment, when it was at last fixed, was higher than the standard which was adopted in later times; but the growing prosperity of the district, and the increase of cultivation proved that it was equitable and fair. His Settlement Report, when completed, met with the full approbation of Government, and the Board of Revenue, in submitting it, expressed "their sense of obligation to Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgement."

Thomason's services, the value of which had been brought into prominent relief by the ability of his administration of Azamgarh, were highly appreciated not only by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, but also by Lord Auckland, the Governor-General. The latter, writing to Sir Charles about this time, mentioned him in the following complimentary terms: "Mr. Thomason, whom I have wanted for the Law Commission, whom Mangles wants for every Commissionership that is

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vacant, and whom you probably want for much else."* But Thomason was no place-hunter. He sought for no higher appointments, and, evidently refusing some that were offered him, he clung faithfully to Azamgarh, until the arduous duties of the Settlement were concluded. It may here be mentioned that Sir Charles Metcalfe, while he approved of the great principles on which the Settlement of the whole North-West Provinces was based, was of opinion that there was too great a desire for accurate survey, or, as he jocularly expressed it, for "looking at everything through a theodolite." He was a strong advocate for the maintenance of the Village Communities; but, while protecting them from external aggression, would have left their internal arrangements as much as possible to themselves. Recognising, however, Thomason's ability and zeal, he selected him, in March, 1837, to act as Secretary to the Government of the North-West Provinces in the Judicial and Revenue Departments. But within two years, Thomason was obliged by domestic affliction to proceed to England again. To his great sorrow, his dearly-loved wife became so ill that it was absolutely necessary for her to leave the depressing climate of India, and he accompanied her, on a short leave of absence, to Calcutta, in order that he might see her safely on board ship. The state of her health was, however, so precarious, and her medical attendant was so apprehensive of the effect which the shock of separation from him might have upon her that, without leave from Government, and

* *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, by Sir J. W. Kaye. London: Bentley, 1854, Vol. 2, p. 304.

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without any adequate provision for the voyage, he accompanied her first to the Sandheads, at the mouth of the river Hugli, then to the Cape of Good Hope, and finally to England, at the imminent risk of losing his appointment; but he felt that his first duty was to his wife, never more tenderly loved than in the time of her sickness and sorrow. On these circumstances, so touching and so peculiar, being placed before them, the East India Directors readily pardoned his having come home without leave, and permitted him to return to duty. He had scarcely left England than his delicate wife, unequal to bear the strain and shock of his departure, died on November 8, 1839.

On his reaching India, early in 1840, whither the news of his great loss followed him, Thomason received the permanent appointment of Secretary to the Government of the North-West Provinces, in which he had previously been acting. His promotion was now very rapid; but we know that the pleasure of promotion and useful employment must have been marred by the recollection that she who had before shared it was with him to share and enjoy it no longer. For a time he was an extra Member of the Board of Revenue; he then joined Lord Ellenborough's Committee of Finance; for a few months he performed the responsible duties of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, for which purpose he proceeded to Calcutta, and, in this capacity, he afterwards accompanied Lord Ellenborough on a tour to the North-West; and, finally, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and assumed charge of that office on December 12, 1843.

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The Government of the North-West Provinces extended over a very different area to that which was afterwards known by a similar name, until it was recently styled the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It then included the territory of Delhi round the former imperial capital of India, and contained the cities of Delhi, Allahabad, Agra, and Benares. The boundary extended nearly to the river Sutlej on the west; to the Himalayas on the north, near the sources of the Ganges, and to the borders of Nepaul on the north-east, the kingdom of Oudh jutting into it like a wedge; the Province of Behar was on the east; and on the south and south-west were the territories of Gwalior and Rajputana; but it contained the beautiful valley of the Nerbuda, which now belongs to the Central Provinces. Some of the most fertile lands in all India were to be found in the upper basin of the Ganges which, as well as the Jumna, flowed through it.

The seat of Government during Thomason's administration was at the beautiful city of Agra. In this grand historic town, Thomason resided the greater part of the year; but he was no stay-at-home official Governor, and feeling that the best way to know the officers who were serving under him, and to become thoroughly acquainted with the country, was to become intimate with every district, he made an extensive tour every year. These tours were carefully planned some months before they were undertaken, so that the provincial officials knew beforehand when he was coming, and every detail of the Lieutenant-Governor's march was previously arranged. He thus spent the cold season under canvas, and had the opportunity of personal

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intercourse with every one of his subordinates in turn. These official tours must have been very enjoyable. A graphic description of them, drawn from personal experience, is given by Sir William Muir in his sketch of Thomason's life. He closes his account with the following words, which show the immense advantage of personal intercourse between a Governor and those working under him: "An incidental advantage, but one of peculiar value, was the acquaintance imparted by such intimate converse, with the qualifications and abilities of every officer subordinate to the Government. Thomason possessed a rare power of discriminating character, and no opportunity was so favourable for exercising it as to find a man in the midst of his daily work. With unexpected rapidity the Lieutenant-Governor would perceive the weak point of a case or line of procedure; and the officer, if not thoroughly master of his work, would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself. The earnest worker and the aspiring subordinate were recognised and encouraged. The former would be incited to prosecute, with redoubled energy, some occupation of his own devising, or for which his chief perceived in him a peculiar aptitude and taste. Here the reins would be loosened, and a generous spur given to the willing labourer. To the latter, some special sphere of industry or research would be suggested—perhaps, the inquiry into an interesting custom or tenure brought to notice in the circuit: he would be invited probably to embody his investigation when completed, and to state

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his views and conclusions in a written form; and the impulse thus given to talent and application would prove, perhaps, the starting point of a useful, if not distinguished, career." Thomason was, in these extended tours, accessible to all sections of the community, and was ready to hear, either European or Indian, on all matters which they might desire to bring to his notice.

He was prompt in the despatch of business. His habit was to rise very early, and to get through his ordinary routine work as soon as possible in the day, in order that he might be free to converse with his guests at breakfast without pressure or restraint. The daily business was despatched at once, but, of course, all matters of greater concern involving important principles were kept for more careful consideration, and disposed of after consultation and correspondence with those best fitted to give their opinions upon them. The great secret of the success obtained by Thomason's administration lay in his faculty of reading character, and of using each person in the sphere for which he was best adapted. We have already mentioned two of his Assistants in the district of Azamgarh, who subsequently distinguished themselves. Lord Lawrence and Sir Donald McLeod were two of his favourite subordinates, when he was Lieutenant-Governor, and we may attribute to him not only the prosperity of the North-West Provinces, which were under his immediate rule, but also the successful introduction into the newly acquired Province of the Punjab of the principles and the practice learned under him in the older territory. The makers of the Punjab were trained under his supervision, and under his kindly influence.

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It is proposed now to dwell a little more at large on some features of Thomason's very beneficent administration, fruitful, as we have shown it to be, not only in its immediate results, but in the application of its principles to other Provinces. The first point to be mentioned is the Revenue Settlement of the North-West Provinces. It has already been seen how Thomason was entrusted with the introduction of both Survey and Settlement into the district of Azamgarh; we have now to consider its application to the whole Province, where it was completed during Thomason's rule. From time immemorial land in these upper territories of India had been held by the Village Communities, though there were, here and there, land-owners, who possessed extensive estates. On the country passing under British rule, however, a clumsy endeavour was made by inexperienced officials, fresh from the older Province of Bengal, to force the much-belauded Permanent Settlement into a country to which, having been under an entirely different system, or rather lack of system, it was totally unsuited. The eyes of the Government of India were at length opened to the absurdity of this endeavour. A vigorous effort was made to put things straight, and the grand system of the Settlement of the North-West Provinces was prepared by the genius of Robert Merttins Bird and his very able coadjutors. The characteristic of the tenure adopted was "cultivation in severalty with joint responsibility." That is, the Government Settlement of the revenue was made with the head man of each village, while each individual cultivator was responsible for his own holding. This is called the Village System, from its

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recognising the very ancient institutions of the Village Communities.

This section may appropriately end with a quotation from a work published by Sir J. W. Kaye, in the last year of Thomason's life and government. "There is a freshness," he wrote, "a vigour, a healthy, robust youth, apparent everywhere in the administration of these Provinces. I do not believe that there is in the world a more conscientious and more laborious class of Civil functionaries than those who, under one of the best men and ablest administrators who have ever devoted their lives to the service of the people of India, are now bearing the burden and heat of the day, in serious, toilsome efforts to make the yoke of foreign conquest sit lightly on the Indian subjects of the British crown. Earnestness and energy are contagious; and in the North-West Provinces the heavy-paced are soon roused into activity, the phlegmatic into tingling life. What Thomason and his associates have done for Upper India can only be fairly appreciated by those who know what was the state of these Provinces fifty, or even twenty, years ago."*

Another particular in which the genius of the Lieutenant Governor left its impress on the Province and the country, is the one on which his fame in future years will, we believe, principally rest. It was a thoughtfully planned system of primary education. It was introduced gradually, with his characteristic caution. The idea was, not to found, here and there, foreign schools,

* *The Administration of the East India Company*, by Sir J. W. Kaye. London: Bentley, 1853. p. 267.

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however good, from which the people might naturally shrink with apprehensive prejudice; but boldly to use the schools of the people themselves and to improve them, establishing in each sub-division of a district a model school of a superior kind. "The conception of utilizing the indigenous teachers and training them was," says Dr. Cust, who was one of Thomason's own officers, "a master stroke. In Lower Bengal the Government, with a flourish, started some hundred brand new schools. Thomason improved and rendered effective several hundred old ones. Of course, we took the system with us to the Punjab, and had it from the beginning; but Thomason was its founder."

The following is a general outline of this system: "Statistical inquiries show that the people are extremely ignorant, and that existing provisions for the education of the rising generation are very defective. On an average, less than five per cent. of the youth who are of age to attend schools obtain any instruction, and the instruction they do receive is of a very imperfect character. The people are at the same time poor, and unable to support schoolmasters by their own unaided effort. It, therefore, becomes the duty of the Government to give them such assistance as may be best calculated to draw forth their own exertions. The proposed scheme contemplates the endowment of a school in every village of a certain size, the Government giving up its revenue for the land which constitutes the endowment, on assurance that the land-holders have appropriated the land for the purpose of maintaining a schoolmaster. This system is most in consonance

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with the customs and feelings of the people. The schoolmaster will become a recognized village servant, elected and supported in a manner consonant with the usage of the village community. An endowment in land is preferable to a money payment, because it gives greater respectability of station than a pecuniary stipend much exceeding the rent of the land, and because it connects the schoolmaster with the community in a way which renders his services more acceptable to them than if he were the joint servant of the Government."*

The Court of Directors, while recognizing the necessity for the encouragement of such village education, disapproved of this plan of endowing it from the land revenue, and Thomason substituted for it one for stimulating education by advice, encouragement, and example; and the Court sanctioned £5,000 a year for trying it in a district round Agra. This was done, and Thomason's admirable idea was carried out; and, only two months before his death, he brought the whole scheme before the Government of India, requesting sanction to its introduction throughout the whole Province at an annual cost of £20,000. In giving his sanction to a scheme which "experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit," Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, added these touching words: "While I cannot refrain from recording anew my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire to add the expression of my feeling that, even though Mr. Thomason had left no other

* *James Thomason*, by Sir W. Muir, p. 81.

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memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career."* We feel that this truly benevolent scheme was the precursor of the gigantic strides that have since been made in popular education in India.

The Court of Directors so fully appreciated Thomason's services that they recommended him for the appointment of Governor of Madras, which was about to become vacant, and, in fact, the confirmation of this appointment was signed by the Queen on the day of his death; but, before this news reached him, his most successful career was suddenly, and, as it appears, to us in our short-sightedness, prematurely brought to a close. His health had been for some time failing, but no serious symptoms appeared until Sunday, September 25, 1853, and on the morning of the following Tuesday he fell asleep. He was at the time at Bareilly, on his way to the health resort of Naini Tal, staying with one of his daughters, Mrs. Hay, wife of Dr. Hay, the Civil Surgeon of the place, his unmarried daughter, Bessie, also being with him.

We give the following affecting account of his last hours: "On Monday night great and increasing trouble ensues on every effort he makes to speak. Considering this, Hay calls in a second medical man, and they both pronounce him to be in a critical and precarious condition; this aggravates the fears that had been oppressing his daughters all day. When bed-time arrives, he does

* *James Thomason*, by Sir W. Muir, p. 87.

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not receive them to wish them good-night. Soon afterwards Hay perceives a further change, arouses them with a hurried intimation that their father is sinking, and takes them to his bedside, about an hour before midnight. Seeing them enter at this unusuual hour, he asks Hay, 'Have you summoned them?' and the answer is 'Yes.' He at once says, 'Then you must think me in a bad way; tell me your real opinion of my case, for I am not afraid to die.' Hay tells him that his condition is most precarious, and that if he continues losing strength, and unable to take nourishment, he cannot long survive. He is unwilling that his daughters should sit up with him, and begs them to go, with the promise that Hay should call them, if any further change for the worse should be perceptible. Soon they are summoned again; but they can scarcely believe that the summons is to a death-bed. His countenance has become more natural in its expression, his manner serene, his voice stronger, and his utterance undisturbed. He takes one of their hands in each of his own, and says, 'John (Hay) must know best—but I do not feel so ill—God's will be done.' He then bids Bessie read to him the last chapter of Galatians, telling them that their mother had laid this chapter much to heart. Evidently, his memory had reverted to the reading of this chapter to his wife, at her own request, just before death. The passage is read, and he hears once more the well-remembered texts—'He that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting,' 'God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.' These are the last passages from

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the Word of God which he hears on earth. Presently he says, with entire peacefulness: 'I have passed an unworthy life; but I do not trust in my own righteousness—God is very gracious.' Yet again he seeks for comfort, and asks Bessie to repeat the first verses of Keble's hymn for the Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. These are the last lines of human poetry that fall upon his ear. He bids them all his final farewell, desiring them now to leave him, so that he may be alone at the end. Then he causes Hay to read the Order in the Prayer Book for the Visitation of the Sick. After the Articles of Faith have been rehearsed, he answers, 'All this I steadfastly believe,' in a voice so clear and decided that it can be heard outside his room. These are the last words he utters. He has full possession of his faculties, and seems to be free from distress. Soon the respirations are more and more lengthened, till they are like long-drawn sighs. Near dawn they subside, growing gentler and gentler, so that Hay can scarcely distinguish the moment when they cease.'*

Brought up in the clear light of the Christian faith, first under his honoured father, and then under the experienced guidance of Simeon, he early gave his heart to God; and his was no outside religion intended merely for sacred seasons and scenes, but it influenced his whole life, and penetrated to every daily duty. As Lieutenant-Governor, his quiet, pure, and steady example gave a tone to the conduct and character

* *James Thomason*, by Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893, p. 204.

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of his whole administration; and the only objection which we have seen attributed to him, consisted in his having been unconsciously influenced in favour of those who professed to share his own deep religious principles, even though they did not exhibit such intellectual abilities as others. It has also been said that he was too desirous to stand well with every one, owing to his disinclination to give personal offence; but, on the other side, it should be clearly stated that he did not suffer moral delinquency to pass unrebuked. On one occasion, an official who had unwittingly done something inconsistent with the strict rule of honourable conduct, received from the Lieutenant-Governor a rebuke so severe that he declared it scarcely possible for him to hold up his head again.

While firmly maintaining his own principles as to the truth of the Christian religion, and his belief as to its ultimate triumph, he was scrupulously careful not to hurt the feelings of others. He felt bound, as a high official of the Government, not to obtrude his private opinions on public occasions and into official matters. He was, in a word, most careful to distinguish between actions done in a public, and those done in a private, capacity. Yet, while still endeavouring to maintain this spirit of scrupulous justice and fairness, he made an interest in all missionary effort popular among English officials, and gave a high tone of genuine piety to all who had the happiness to serve under him. "He quietly set the example," says Dr. Cust, "and the men of my generation followed it; and, when the Punjab was annexed, we took the spirit with us, and there was no one to

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oppose us." He took the liveliest interest in mission work, and followed individual cases with the tenderest solicitude. He contributed liberally towards the support of those who were devoting their lives to the extension of the kingdom of Christ; and he was equally generous towards those who were in indigence and want, giving away more than a tenth of his income; but what he did in this way could never be rightly estimated, as he was careful to follow the cardinal principle of Christian giving—that it should be done in secret and in silence.

Thomason had carefully studied the proofs of the Christian faith, and had not adopted it simply because he was born a Christian. He always spoke as one who had seriously reflected on the main difficulties that were urged against it, and allowed them all their due weight, and yet found preponderating evidence in favour of it. He was always careful to observe the weekly rest of the Lord's Day. On that sacred day, he laid aside all the cares and anxieties of State, and found refreshment in the quiet observance of religious duties. When he was in camp, and thus absent from a place of Christian worship, he always summoned his staff for service in the public tent, where he himself conducted the worship of the English Church.

It has already been stated how very careful he was not to wound the feelings of the higher among his Indian subordinates, and he was quite as anxious to uphold the rights of even the poorest peasant. We have the pleasure to give two anecdotes to illustrate this gentle trait in his character by one who was closely connected with him. "I was with him," wrote General George Hutchinson, "on an elephant, some time, I

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think, in 1847, when we were out in camp, taking a quiet ride through the country. He was most careful on such occasions, when the young crops were coming up, not to take the elephant where it could injure the crops by its feet or by its trunk; and he allowed only one or two attendants on horse-back to follow him. Suddenly, we saw a young Civilian coming towards us on an elephant, tearing across the fields regardless of the crops. Thomason's distress and his dignified rebuke to the thoughtless young Civilian I can never forget."

"I was once with him," said the same officer, "on a march from Simla to Kotghar. At the latter place, while we were at dinner, a relative, who was on a shooting expedition, and in hot pursuit of bears, suddenly appeared, and both impetuously and imperatively demanded Thomason's help to give him men to beat the woods. Thomason gave instructions which ensured the men being given, but prevented all coercion, showing again the same anxious consideration for the rights and feelings of the people." Such was the kind consideration, even in the smallest matters, of this truly amiable and consistent Christian statesman.

The estimate of Thomason's official character, made by Sir William Muir, is so beautifully written that we quote it in its entirety. "It may well be inquired what secret charm it was, which lent to almost every department of his administration so distinguishing an efficiency and greatness. It was not brilliant genius; for his faculties, though powerful and elevated, were not transcendent; it was not the gift of eloquence; nor anything unusually persuasive either in speech or writing. The capacities of his well-regulated mind

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schooled into their utmost efficiency, performed wonderful things; but those capacities in themselves were in few respects greater than are often met with in undistinguished characters. There was, indeed, a rare power of deliberation and judgement, an unusual faculty of discernment and research, a keen discrimination of truth from error. Yet these were mainly the result of studious habit and earnest purpose. And herein, in our judgement, lies the grand praise of his administration. It was by labour that it was perfected—conscientious, unceasing, daily labour; by a wakeful anxiety that knew no respite; by a severity of thought, ever busy and ever prolific in the devising of new arrangements, and the perfecting of old. Yet his mind was so beautifully balanced that this unwearied work and never-ceasing tension produced no irregularity of action, and no impatient advance. All was even, serene, powerful."*

Perfectly impartial and just, so far as imperfect human nature can be, devoted to duty, and sincerely desirous for the good of all around him, his early removal, for he was scarcely fifty when he died, seems to have been a real misfortune to the country. Yet India owes much to the noble example and the fragrant memory of so good a ruler as James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, who may well be called the Prince of Indian Civilians.

* *Memoir*, by Sir W. Muir, p. 88.

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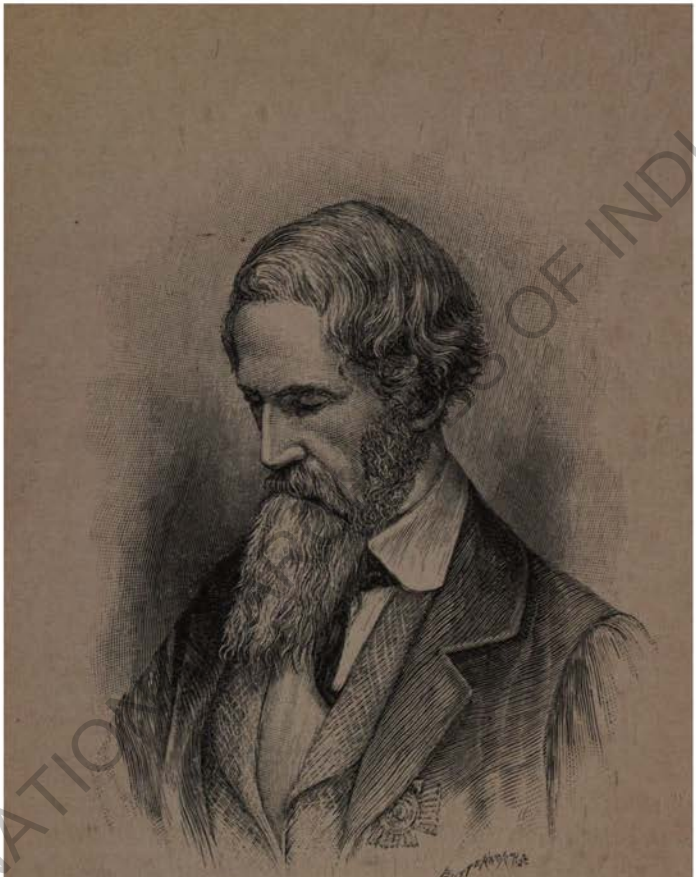

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

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CHAPTER VI.

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE:

WHO TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY.

A.D. 1823—1857.

"Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
He, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad, for human kind,
Is happy as a lover; and attired
With sudden brightness, like a man inspired.
He, through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or, if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need."

Wordsworth.

THE above lines are taken from Wordsworth's charming little poem on *The Character of the Happy Warrior*, which was always an especial favourite of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, the subject of the following sketch, and on which he endeavoured to model his own character and life. He was the fourth surviving son of Colonel Alexander Lawrence, who, when a young lieutenant, led one of the storming parties at the memorable

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siege of Seringapatam. He was born at Matura, in Ceylon, on June 28, 1806, and was laughingly called by his excellent mother, "her Matura diamond," with reference to certain precious stones, known by that name, which were found in the island. He was educated at Foyle College, in the city of Derry, and he afterwards went to Addiscombe, the East India Company's Military College, where he obtained an appointment in the Bengal Artillery. He did not distinguish himself at either place; but, in after-life, feeling keenly the disadvantage of deficient learning, he set himself to work with the object of remedying this defect. He arrived at Calcutta on February 21, 1823.

After two or three years spent at the Artillery head quarters at Dum-Dum near Calcutta, Lieutenant Lawrence was ordered to accompany a force which was sent into Arrakan during the first Burmese War. A long march through a damp and unhealthy country told upon him severely; and, having caught jungle fever, he was obliged to go away on medical certificate, and eventually returned to England to recruit his health. He arrived there in May, 1827, and remained until September, 1829. He thoroughly enjoyed his stay in his native land, but he was wise enough not to allow it to pass entirely in idleness and inaction. Among other studies, he occupied himself in learning to survey, believing that the knowledge of this useful and practical science would subsequently prove of great benefit to him; and, with this object in view, he joined the Trigonometrical Survey in the north of Ireland. Possessing a most affectionate heart, he felt acutely the second parting from his relatives and friends, when the time

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came for his return to India, which country he reached on February 9, 1830.

Directly Lawrence reached India, he went up-country, where he led a very quiet and retired life, employed in his military duties. Though not naturally a linguist, he applied himself diligently to the study of Hindustani and Persian, and in two years he passed the examination for Interpreter, which qualified him for employment on the staff. Another reason for leading a retired life was the generous and filial desire to save money for his mother's use during the evening of her days. His study of surveying was now to be turned to practical account. His elder brother George being at Simla, where the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, was staying, made the request that he might be appointed to the Revenue Survey, which had recently been established under Robert Merttins Bird, and he was appointed one of that gentleman's Assistants in the North-West Provinces in February, 1833. The next five years was a time of strenuous and unremitting labour. He threw himself into the discharge of his official duties heart and soul. No work could be more important than that in which he was engaged. It was a survey of the land for the guidance of the Revenue officers of Government, so that a fair and equitable rent might be demanded from the cultivators of the soil, and that the errors in the Settlement accounts might be ascertained and rectified. The fields in every village were to be measured, the nature and capabilities of the soil were to be estimated, and the whole laid down in clear and serviceable maps.

This work brought Lawrence into direct contact with

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the people. It gave him an opportunity, of which he fully availed himself, of ascertaining the wants and feelings and prejudices of the peasants themselves. It gave him an insight into the best side of their character, and enabled him to sympathize with them, and to help them. In fact, it brought him closer to them, and taught him to understand them better than years spent in mere office work and official routine. He lived among them. For some eight months out of the twelve he was out in tents, and so enthusiastic was he in his work that he excited the displeasure of his fellow-assistants by urging them to more arduous labour than they desired. He closely inspected the work of his subordinates; and being of an impetuous disposition, and of rather a fiery temper, he kept them to it with characteristic thoroughness. His mode of punishing perfunctory and imperfect work was sometimes as amusing as it was effective. The following is an instance of such treatment: "An Indian surveyor, who refused to go back some ten miles to revise a serious error that had been discovered in his work, was laid upon a native bed, and carried by bearers to the spot, where he was turned out to rectify his error. The man was obstinate, refused to re-observe his angles, and returned to camp. Henry Lawrence ordered him up into a mango tree, where he kept the recusant guarded by two guards with drawn swords, until hunger changed the mind and temper of the surveyor. The man ultimately proved an excellent worker."* Rough and ready treatment

* *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1875, Vol. 1, p. 123.

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this of a rough and ready man. Anxious for the good of the people, he fully learned the value of light and easy settlements, and one of the primary objects which he set before himself was to make the communications between the different parts of the country complete. "Push on your roads," he was wont to say; "open out your district. The farmer, the soldier, the policeman, the traveller, the merchant—all want roads. Cut roads in every direction." The extent of his work was as great as its quality was good. During the five years of his life as a surveyor, he surveyed a large portion of Moradabad, all Futtegarh, a great part of Gorruckpore, and was engaged on the Allahabad district when summoned to another sphere.

Lawrence's diligence at this time is fully proved by the following extract from a letter dated September 1, 1837, from the Secretary of the Board of Revenue to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, in which they proposed a scheme for accelerating the surveys. "I am instructed to say," he wrote, "that the Board have availed themselves of the opportunity of Captain Lawrence passing through Allahabad, to discuss with him the subject in the fullest manner, and to obtain from him such memoranda and statements as he could furnish. Captain Lawrence is one of the most experienced and zealous of the officers employed on the Survey, and has conducted the complicated process of double survey more successfully, perhaps, than any other, and has certainly entered more entirely into the Board's views. He is prepared to guarantee, with the establishment stated, a complete survey of 3000 square miles a year, where the villages

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average one square mile each." "On another occasion he seems to have been hurt at some expressions of the Board's, which seemed, as he said, 'to hold him up to the department,' to which they make the gratifying reply that he has 'misconstrued their remarks,' and that he has in 'no way been held up to the department, except as an example.'"*

While engaged in this important and deeply interesting work, an important event in Lawrence's life occurred. On August 21, 1837, he was married to his cousin, Miss Honoria Marshall, to whom he had for some years been most tenderly attached. Henceforward he formed one of the numerous company of English gentlemen in India who endeavour to show to the people, by the purity and the sanctity of married life, the beautiful example of a happy Christian home. Mrs. Lawrence was one in a thousand. She was a thoughtful, intellectual, and thoroughly godly woman; and she took her place at her husband's side, fully resolved to be, by divine help, in every respect a true solace and support to him in all his arduous duties.

Whenever she was able, Mrs. Lawrence accompanied her husband in his tours through the country, and shared with him all the little privations and vicissitudes of a life in tents. It is pleasant to know something of the personal appearance of those about whom we are reading; and this is an appropriate place to give a picture of Lawrence, at the period of his life when a man is in his prime. The portrait will not be the less accurate and acceptable, because it is drawn by one who

* *Life*, Vol. I, p. 124.

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loved him so well as his honoured wife. "Henry is the head of a large establishment for surveying," she wrote to a friend; "his Assistants are encamped at different points in the district, and he goes from place to place, exercising general superintendence. Hitherto, I have accompanied him everywhere, and have seldom been separated from him. It is a great happiness that his work does not take him away during the day. We sit in the same tent, and even though I may not interrupt him by speaking, I can sit by him, following my own occupations, while he works at his maps and plans. You bid me describe him. I will try. He is thirty-one, but looks older. He is rather tall, very thin and sallow, and has altogether an appearance of worse health than he really has. Dark hair, waxing scanty now, high forehead, very projecting eyebrows, sunken eyes, long nose, thin cheeks, and no whiskers. Very active and alert in his habits, but very unmethodical. As to dress and externals, perfectly careless, and would walk out with a piece of carpet about his shoulders as readily as with a coat, and would invite people to dinner on a cold shoulder of mutton as readily as to a feast."* He was evidently very spare in figure; but he must have had an iron constitution. Mrs. Lawrence gave the following description of their mode of life at that time. "You ask me if I travel much, and I may reply that we do nothing but travel. Since I left England I have only been for a few days at a time within a house, and very seldom so much as a fortnight in one place." "It is a busy and a wandering life; but we both like it.

* *Life*, Vol. 1, p. 153.

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Except in the rainy season, when we are driven in, we live wholly in tents, a week in one place, a month in another, a day in another. We rarely see a European face, or hear a word of English, and are, in fact, as much alone together as if we were in a desert island. We have special reason, therefore, to be thankful that we can be thoroughly companions."

Lawrence added a postscript. "Honoria gives too favourable a view of matters, for we have many rubs to encounter, some such as all must meet, and others incidental to our roving life. I have now tents in three different places, eight or ten miles apart, and have two other encampments to look after; with such endless vexations and contretemps to encounter as he only can conceive who has engaged to furnish a geographical and revenue map of one-sixth of Scotland in one year, showing not only the features of the country, but furnishing all the statistical details requisite for a land assessment. Honoria bears all her discomforts most meekly and wifely; but I sometimes wish her out of the way of my unpleasantnesses." A few years later he said he could do what few Englishmen in such a climate as India could do with impunity, namely, ride from eighty to a hundred miles at a stretch, and work from twelve to fourteen hours a day.*

These happy years, to which Captain and Mrs. Lawrence always looked back with very great pleasure, passed rapidly away. No more rides in the clear, crisp, morning air, accompanied by servants and surveyors. No more days spent in consultation with

* *Life*, Vol. 2, p. 2.

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the simple villagers, or in tents strewed with papers and plans. The sad war with Afghanistan had begun. The army of the Indus was collecting in Upper India; and, at Lawrence's own earnest request, he was permitted to join his battery of artillery at Kurnal; but it was not employed, and, again at his own request, he obtained, in January, 1839, the appointment of Assistant to Mr. George Clerk, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-West frontier. The district of Ferozepore, a strip of territory, containing about a hundred square miles, on the south bank of the Sutlej, was placed under his charge. Here Mrs. Lawrence and he remained for the next three years. Three more eventful years had never occurred in the history of British India. Afghanistan was invaded and occupied by British forces, and then came what seems to us now the terrible retribution for an unjust war. Ferozepore was situated on the direct line of communication between that country and India; and Lawrence was fully occupied in obtaining and forwarding supplies, in furnishing passing regiments with what they needed, and in keeping up the means of communication with the advanced force. In his own immediate charge he was the Civil officer as well as political, and every department was under his control. He rebuilt the town, and improved the district. He made himself acquainted with his Sikh neighbours on both sides of the Sutlej, and employed himself, among other duties, in acquiring an extensive and accurate knowledge of the Sikh polity and kingdom.

During the very eventful year 1842, when the prestige of British honour was trembling in the balance after

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the disasters in Afghanistan, Lawrence was busily employed in negotiations with the Sikh chiefs, and in helping to obtain supplies for the avenging army under General Pollock. He was ordered to Peshawar, where he took a considerable part in subduing the rising spirit of mutiny which had shown itself in the British sepoy army. The services of his superior, Mr. George Clerk, at Lahore, and his own at Peshawar, were successful in keeping the very doubtful alliance with the Sikhs from becoming a mere delusion. When General Pollock's army advanced through the Kyber Pass, he accompanied it, and he went with the Sikh contingent to Jelalabad, which, during the war, had been most gallantly defended by a small English garrison under General Sale. While negotiations with the Afghans were being conducted, his elder brother George, who had been a captive at Kabul, and had been sent to Jelalabad to take part in them, was in honour bound to return to captivity. All the chivalrous affection of Henry Lawrence shone out at this juncture, and he generously offered to take his brother's place, and to return in his stead. George, however, would not listen for a moment to this noble offer; but he was eventually released, with the other captives. When Mrs. Lawrence heard of this offer, she sent the following noble reply. "You offered to go in the stead of George, darling? I am glad you did it, and I am glad there was no time to ask me, lest my heart should have failed. But had you been taken at your word, though my soul would have been rent, yet I would never have regretted, or wished you had done otherwise. It must have been a sad parting when dear George left you, and you will be

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more than ever impatient for his release."* When the victorious army returned to India, Henry Lawrence reverted to his former political employ.

On December 1, 1843, Major Lawrence was appointed Resident at the Court of Nepaul. The condition of that Kingdom was then one of sad intestine trouble. It required the presence of a Resident, who, while refraining from interference in the actual government of the country, would quietly watch the progress of events, and be ready to give his counsel and advice when really required, as well as to guard British interests. There was to be observed in Nepaul the curious anomaly of a corrupt and troubled Court, but a peaceful and prosperous people. Lawrence himself described the state of affairs in the following words: "It is only justice to the Gurkhas to say that, bad as is their foreign and domestic policy, they are the best masters I have seen in India. I have never witnessed or heard of a single act of oppression, and a happier peasantry I have nowhere seen."†

The comparative leisure ensured him by this appointment, afforded Lawrence a valuable opportunity for literary labour, of which he took ample advantage. He employed it in omnivorous reading, turning the light of his studies especially on current Indian politics and affairs. He wrote frequently for the newspapers, and for the *Calcutta Review*, which had recently been started; and in all his literary work he was assisted and encouraged by Mrs. Lawrence. He had acquired a rough and rugged, but forcible, style of composition, which,

* *Life*, Vol. 1, p. 399. † *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 482.

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like his own personal character, required to be softened, sweetened, and polished, and this part of the work was performed by Mrs. Lawrence, whose intellectual and literary skill was great, and who delighted in turning it to the best account in his service. "So, when not interrupted by ill-health, as sometimes happened," wrote Sir J. W. Kaye, who then edited the *Calcutta Review*, "these two worked on happily together in their Nepaul home; and seldom or never did a week pass without bringing me, as I laboured on in Calcutta, a bulky packet of manuscript from one or other—or both."* They were in Nepaul from November, 1843, to December, 1845.

During their residence in Nepaul, Major and Mrs. Lawrence brought to perfection a plan for the benefit of the children of European soldiers in India, which they had long contemplated. Some years before, while they were sitting together on the slope of the Sonawar hills overlooking Kussowlee, whither they had gone for his health, they had formed the resolve to erect there a sanatorium for this purpose; and the long considered scheme was at this time commenced. Their hearts had yearned over the sad condition of soldiers' children. The climate of India, always adverse to the constitution of Europeans, even under the most favourable circumstances, is peculiarly unsuited to children; and, in addition to this, the surroundings to which children are liable in barracks, are most objectionable. The idea, therefore, of establishing an Asylum for them in the

* *Lives of Indian Officers*, by Sir J. W. Kaye. Bogue, 1880. Vol. 3, p. 116.

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cool atmosphere of the Hills, which is not unlike the climate of England, was a very happy one; and, when there was added to this instruction in the Bible, the benefit of such an institution was increased a hundredfold. The scheme at first encountered opposition in influential quarters; but it was ere long taken up warmly by Government, and a beginning was made at Kussowlee, on the inner range of the Himalayas. Major and Mrs. Lawrence supported it with lavish generosity. This beneficent scheme has since been considerably extended, and there are now similar Asylums in other localities, notably at a beautiful spot near Ootacamund in what Lord Tennyson called "the sweet half-English Neilgherry air."* They all bear the honoured name of Lawrence, and they form the most appropriate memorial to two of the best friends of India and of the English soldier in India.

At the end of 1845, the first Sikh war began. When Major Lawrence heard this intelligence, he was accompanying Mrs. Lawrence, who had been seriously ill, to Calcutta. In the fiercely contested battle of Ferozeshah, Major Broadfoot, the Governor-General's Agent, was killed, and Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Hardinge at once summoned Lawrence to occupy the vacant post as his previous services in and near the Punjab had afforded him exceptional knowledge of the politics and the character of the Sikhs. In less than four-and-twenty hours he obeyed the summons. Leaving Mrs. Lawrence to go to Calcutta by herself, he hastened to Ferozepore, where he took charge of the appointment. He came

* *Maud.* Moxon, 1855, p. 102.

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into the very heart of the war. He was present at the final victory of Sobraon. A few days afterwards, Lahore, the capital, was occupied. The Governor-General was strongly opposed to annexation. The Sikh Government was to be continued under English supervision. The young Maharaja Dhuleep Sing, then only five years old, was formally installed as Sovereign, and his mother was made his guardian. This arrangement did not last long. It was discovered that the Queen Mother was intriguing against the Government, and therefore she was removed from her high position, and the Government of the newly-conquered country was placed in the hands of a Council consisting of eight Sikh Chieftains, acting under Colonel Lawrence, who had been appointed Resident of Lahore. The chief authority, of course subordinate to the Government of India, in fact almost kingly power, was in Lawrence's hands. The singular wisdom and prudence with which he exercised it, received the marked approval of Lord Hardinge. But a long residence in India, and the exciting events of the last few months had told on even his iron constitution, and he was compelled to go to England for the sake of his health. He accompanied his old friend and chief, Lord Hardinge, and reached London in March, 1848. He was soon afterwards created by the Queen a Knight Commander of the Bath.

While recruiting his health in England, Sir Henry heard the news of a sudden outbreak in the Punjab. Mulraj, the Chief of Multan, had risen in rebellion, and, in a short time, the whole of the Punjab was in a blaze. At once, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was full of anxiety

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to be on the spot, requested permission to return, and in November, Lady Lawrence and he were once more on their way to India. He reached the Punjab and resumed charge on February 1, 1849, just in time to share some of the anxieties and the excitement of the final campaign. The victory of Gujarat gave the complete command of the country to the English, and the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, decided on the annexation of it as the only means of ensuring its tranquillity, and on this and other subjects he was brought into direct antagonism to the well-known opinion of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was still opposed to this extreme measure. On March 29, 1849, the memorable Proclamation, by which the Punjab passed under the direct Government of England was published, and the Government of the new Province was placed under a Commission consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence as President, and of two Civilians, his brother John and Mr. Mansel, who remained only a short time, and was succeeded by Mr. Robert Montgomery. The political department was principally under Sir Henry, while revenue affairs were left to his brother, and the judicial department to Mr. Mansel. An admirable staff of selected Indian officers was placed at their disposal.

It has been very generally assumed that this form of administration for the newly annexed Province was deliberately chosen by Lord Dalhousie, and was the one which he fully approved. He would, however, have preferred to have placed it under a single Chief Commissioner; but he considered it wiser, in the circumstances, to acquiesce in the plan which was adopted. His reasons have recently been published, as well as

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those for the formation of the Board. We quote them at this juncture in Lawrence's life, as they throw a flood of light on Lord Dalhousie's relations with the two eminent brothers who played such a prominent part in the early administration of the Province. "If Sir Henry Lawrence," he wrote to the President of the Board of Control, on May 25, 1849, "had, in my judgement, been as indisputably fit to administer alone the Civil Government as he was to direct the political and military arrangements of the Punjab, I would never have thrown the local Government into the form of a Board. But Sir H. Lawrence is not a Sir Thomas Munro; and had neither the experience nor the qualifications which would have justified me in committing all the Civil Government to him alone." A little later he wrote: "In the selection of most of the persons, as well as the form of Government, I was fettered by previous events. The place at the head of affairs was left open for Sir H. Lawrence, by the suggestion of the Government of India, and I was personally pledged to replace him. I told him that if, opposed as I knew he was to the new policy, he felt he could not carry it out into execution as frankly and efficiently as the other, I expected of his candour and honour that he would say so. He said he would do so cordially. Having so lately, and under such peculiar circumstances, replaced him as head of the Government there, I could not turn him out, if he was willing to act. Thus was I tied to Sir H. Lawrence. But he was not competent to the sole charge—to the Civil Government of it. It was indispensable to give him a coadjutor. There was no man who had so strong a claim to that office, no man

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fitter for it, no man more likely to get on with his brother, than John Lawrence. But it would not have done to make a family compact, and it was necessary to provide against difference of opinion. Wherefore, I put in a third. I have thus shown you how a Board was a form of Government forced on me by previous events. I should never have chosen such a Government." A few weeks after, when it was supposed that Sir Henry might have to leave, on account of his health, he wrote: "If he did go, I should take advantage of the opportunity to get the administration moved towards the form I myself desired, namely, a single Commissionership." We add the conclusion at which Lord Dalhousie's biographer arrived, after having quoted the above extracts; but the whole of the carefully written passage is worthy of perusal: "That the Punjab was governed wisely and well during the administration of the Board is the best proof that neither Henry nor John failed in his duty. The credit of success, which has never been exceeded in the annals of an Indian Province, belongs to each of them in equal degree, and posterity, which inherited the rich legacy of their labours and of their differences, can only be thankful for the noble sacrifice made by the two brothers on the altar of public interest."*

The Punjab was constituted what was then known as a "Non-Regulation Province," and it was most efficiently worked. Sir Henry Lawrence constantly moved about the Province. He was trusted and loved by the

* *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, by Sir W. Lee Warner. Macmillan & Co., 1904, Vol. 1, pp. 252, 256.

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Sikhs themselves; and it is very much owing to the tact with which the delicate transition from their own Government to that of England was effected by him, that they were converted into such firm and faithful adherents to the British Raj that, when, in a very few years, the fate of the Empire in India trembled in the balance, their loyalty considerably tended to turn the scale. The Punjab became a model Province. Most of the praise for this is usually attributed to Lord Lawrence; but the foundations of it were laid by the sympathetic policy and winning demeanour of his brother.

The Commission, however, did not work well, and the Governor-General resolved to place the Province at the first favourable opportunity under a single officer as Chief Commissioner, with a Revenue and a Judicial Commissioner under him. This is, perhaps, the saddest episode in Sir Henry Lawrence's life. There is no doubt that, on many important questions, he differed from his brother. The result was that both sent in their resignation, and Lord Dalhousie accepted Sir Henry's, appointing his brother as the new Chief Commissioner. Lord Dalhousie, in writing to him privately on the subject, told him that the Government had fully determined to place a thoroughly trained and experienced Civilian at the head of the Province. This letter seems to us to be most kindly and even tenderly expressed. "You stand far too high," Lord Dalhousie wrote, "and have received too many assurances and too many proofs of the great estimation in which your ability, qualities, and services have been held by the successive Governments under which you have been

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employed, to render it necessary that I should bear testimony to the value which have been set upon your labours, and upon your services, as the head of the Administration of the Punjab by the Government over which I have had the honour to preside. We do not regard it as in any degree disparaging to you that we, nevertheless, do not consider it expedient to commit the sole executive charge of the Administration of a Kingdom to any other than to a thoroughly trained and experienced Civil Officer. Although the Regulations do not prevail in the Punjab, and although the system of Civil Government has wisely and successfully been made more simple in its forms, still we are of opinion that the superintendence of so large a system, everywhere founded on the Regulations, and pervaded by their spirit, can be thoroughly controlled and moulded as changes from time to time may become necessary, only by a Civilian fully versed in the system of the older Provinces, and experienced in its operation." Lord Dalhousie then added the expression and comparison which had been in his mind throughout. "All the world unites in acknowledging the merits of Sir Thomas Munro. I cannot, therefore, illustrate better the strength of my own conviction on this head than by saying that, if Sir Thomas Munro were now President of your Board, I should still hold the opinion I have expressed regarding the office of Chief Commissioner."*

These sentiments sadly mortified Sir Henry Lawrence. He justly felt that he had abundance of experience of Civil administration. "I have held," he said, "every

* *Life*, Vol. 2, p. 192.

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sort of Civil post during the last twenty-one years, and have trained myself by hard work and by putting my own shoulder to the wheel. Six years I was a Revenue Surveyor, doing all the most difficult work of a Settlement Officer. For four years I was a District Officer, Judge, Magistrate, and Collector, without assistance of any kind. For six years I have been a Chief Judge and Commissioner of Appeal in revenue matters."* But the sentence which evidently cut deepest was the one referring to Sir Thomas Munro, as he frequently recurred to it afterwards.

Sir Henry Lawrence's resignation having been accepted, he was appointed the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, a high position in which he had the supervision over eighteen Rajput States. He left Lahore in January, 1853, and assumed charge of his new office at Ajmere. Rajputana was the ancestral country of some of the most chivalrous of the Hindu princes. He had scarcely been a year in Rajputana, when he experienced the poignant sorrow of losing his noble and devoted wife, who had for so many years been the earthly joy and solace of his life. She died at Mount Aboo, one of the loveliest spots in India, on January 15, 1854. She died, as she had lived, a firm believer in Christ, and in the truths of His consolatory religion, and was laid to rest " in sure and certain hope " of everlasting life in the presence of the Saviour whom she had always loved and served.

Sir Henry's services in Rajputana principally consisted in carefully watching the course of events at the

* *Life*, Vol. 2, p. 200.

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Rajput Courts, and in tendering his counsel where needed. The chief points to which he directed his attention were infanticide, and the burning of widows alive on the funeral pyre of their husbands, which were sadly prevalent, and the improvement of prison discipline; but, notwithstanding the interest occasioned by his duties, he was anxious to leave that locality. His health thoroughly broke down, and he was anxious to return once more to his own native land. This was not to be, however: a few more months of harder work than ever, and a hundredfold more anxiety—and then final rest was to come.

The terrible year 1857 had begun. Lord Dalhousie had left, and Lord Canning was Governor-General. Early in the year he offered the appointment of Chief Commissioner of Oudh to Sir Henry Lawrence. Ill as he was, Sir Henry was quite invigorated by this offer. "I am quite at your lordship's service," he wrote in reply, "and will cancel my leave and move to Lucknow at a day's notice."* He reached that city on March 20, a time of great perplexity and danger. The Province of Oudh had recently been annexed. Whether the policy be right or wrong, it was not that of Lord Dalhousie, but of the Court of Directors, who thought that the best remedy for centuries of bad government was to take the misruled territory under British protection in the interests of the people themselves. But Oudh was the home of many of the high caste sepoys in the Bengal army; and when the Mutiny began, the greater part of the peasantry sympathized with them, so that Oudh

* *Life*, Vol. 2, p. 277.

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became one of the most fiercely contested scenes of conflict. Sir Henry Lawrence had, in a measure, foreseen the rebellion, and when he arrived at Lucknow and was made aware of the feeling there, he at once set to work to prepare for the storm, and it was due to his prescience and care that provisions and stores were laid in, and the Residency at Lucknow was placed in a state of defence; in fact, had it not been for his forethought, defence would have been impossible. Even at the time of Sir Henry's arrival there were rumours of coming disaster, which increased during the two following months. Unceasing exertions were made by him both in the maintenance of loyalty and peace, and in the preparation for defence by strengthening the fortifications of the Residency and of other buildings.

In the few weeks he had been at Lucknow, Sir Henry contrived to win the esteem and affection of all with whom he came in contact. "He had taken," wrote Colonel Wilson, who succeeded him in the military command after his death, "a wonderful hold of the respect and love of the European soldiery. One day, before the siege, he had ordered all the garrison to repair to the post they would have to occupy in the event of an attack. He then went round to see them in their places. On approaching the main body of H.M.'s 32nd, the men raised a tremendous cheer. Sir Henry asked Colonel Inglis why he had made them do this. Colonel Inglis said he had nothing to do with it, except trying to stop it. The men had broken out into cheers quite spontaneously. The same feeling pervaded the Indian soldiery. They had a saying that, when Sir Henry

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looked twice up to heaven and once to earth, and then stroked his beard, he knew what to do."*

The memorable siege of the Residency of Lucknow was, perhaps, one of the finest feats of war either in ancient or in modern times. An account of it does not, however, come within the scope of this memoir, and we have to speak here only of the first few days of the siege, because they alone refer to the life of Sir Henry Lawrence. For some little time after the outbreak at Meerut and Delhi, the stream of disaffection was stemmed at Lucknow; but, on the last day of June, the revolted regiments drew so threateningly near the city that some of the small force of English, with their Indian comrades, were sent out against them. The Oudh artillery, which had hitherto been faithful, went over to the enemy, and the tiny European contingent was fairly overwhelmed. The siege of Lucknow really began immediately after this defeat.

The garrison consisted of 927 Europeans and 765 sepoys. A hearty word of praise should be given, in passing, to these faithful sepoys, who, amidst the strongest temptations, remained true to their salt. The first attacks were most severe; but Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable in his exertions. His own quarters were in an upper room at the Residency, which he had selected because it was in a commanding position for directing the defence. A shell burst in this room on July 1, while he and his Secretary were transacting business together, but neither was injured. He was urged to quit this room, and to occupy some better pro-

* *Life*, Vol. 2, p. 311.

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tected place. He was, however, unwilling to leave then, but promised to do so on the following day. The morning of July 2 broke. He was busy during the earlier hours inspecting the defences and other matters. At eight, he and his nephew George, thoroughly exhausted by the heat and the morning's work, were lying on their cots a little distance apart. Colonel Wilson, the Deputy Adjutant-General, was reading aloud an order to him for his correction. Suddenly a shell fell into the room and burst, wounding Sir Henry severely in the thigh. He was at once removed to the house of Doctor, afterwards Sir Joseph, Fayrer, and there he was tenderly nursed. The first question he asked was, "How long have I got to live?" The reply was, "About forty-eight hours." Calmly and quietly he prepared for death, mindful to the last of others rather than himself. He gave some thoughtful instructions regarding the continuance of the defence. One thing he particularly enforced—"Let every man die at his post; but never make terms. God help the poor women and children." During this time of weakness, his mind frequently recurred to his favourite scheme, the Lawrence Asylums. One of his first acts, after his wounds had been dressed, was to partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and peculiarly touching is the picture of this solemn Communion Service amidst the horrors of the siege. He expressed a firm trust in the Saviour's complete and full atonement. He died about eight o'clock on the morning of the 4th.

Kaye, writing about the days before the siege, said: "Sir Henry seemed never to rest. At all hours of the night he was up and doing. That he derived 'great

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access of unexpected strength' from prayer is not to be doubted. Often those who entered his room found him upon his knees praying for wisdom from the Almighty Counsellor, and imploring mercy for the poor people committed to his charge, against whom our enemies were raging so furiously. He knew that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much, and he never ceased from his intercession."*

Thus died Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the noblest and truest among our Indian heroes. He was a thorough Christian. Converted at Calcutta in the early days of his service, more deeply convinced of the grand truths of Christianity as he grew older, and united to one who was truly his example and stay in the Christian life, he grew in grace as he increased in years. His was no faith put on at the last, but it influenced his whole life.

One bright feature in his character was his spirit of forgiveness. He was always ready to forgive those who had offended him, or whom he imagined he had offended. He was ambitious with a noble ambition; but, at the same time, he was too keenly sensitive regarding the estimation in which he was held by others, and especially by those in authority. He was, even to the last, under the impression that his services were not sufficiently appreciated; but they were in reality so much thought of by the Court of Directors that they considered him the fittest person to succeed, in case of the retirement or death of Lord Canning, to the highest position, and, in ignorance of his death, they appointed him, three weeks after it had occurred,

* Kaye's *Lives*, Vol. 3, p. 184.

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to be Provisional Governor-General. Sir Henry Lawrence was no courtier, and sometimes expressed himself in a very curt and straightforward manner, when confronted by any mean or dishonourable conduct. No one was, however, more kindly in manner towards Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs; and nothing stirred his generous spirit more than harshness shown towards those who were suffering reverse from the fortune of war or other circumstances. Such in his many-sided character was this truly great and good man, simple in heart, sometimes rugged in manner, but always kind, sympathetic, and noble, and yet so humble that, at his special request, all that was placed over his grave was the brief, but touching, epitaph—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty."

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SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

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CHAPTER VII.

SIR JAMES OUTRAM:

THE BAYARD OF INDIA.

A.D. 1819—1860.

"Sans peur et sans reproche."
Old French Motto.

"Hark cannonade, fusillade! Is it true what was told by the scout,
Outram and Havelock breaking their way through the fell mutineers?
Surely the pibroch of Europe is ringing again in our ears!
All on a sudden the garrison utter a jubilant shout,
Havelock's glorious Highlanders answer with conquering cheers."

Tennyson.

THE following speech was made by Sir Charles Napier at a banquet given in honour of Major Outram on the occasion of his leaving the Province of Scinde in 1842: "In the fourteenth century there was in the French army a Knight renowned for deeds of gallantry in war, and wisdom in council; indeed, so deservedly famous was he, that by general acclamation he was called the Knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. The name of this

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Knight, you may all know, was the Chevalier Bayard. Gentlemen, I give you the Bayard of India, *sans peur et sans reproche*, Major James Outram, of the Bombay Army."* From that day to this, the subject of the following brief sketch has always been honourably known as " the Bayard of India."

James Outram was born on January 29, 1803, at Butterley, in Derbyshire, where his father had founded some extensive iron works. His father died when he was still an infant; but his mother, who was a lady of remarkable intellectual power, lived to a great age, dying, in fact, only a few days before her illustrious son. There is little to relate concerning his school-boy days. He was an athletic youth, generous and high-spirited, but little inclined to study. At an early age, he received a Cadetship in the service of the East India Company, and he arrived at Bombay on August 15, 1819. He served for some time as a regimental officer, being appointed in due course Adjutant of his Corps, and being much distinguished for his prowess in hunting and other field-sports.

The ten years from 1825 to 1835 were those in which he was brought into closest contact with the people, and he won his first distinction in the Bheel country, among a wild race, which had hitherto been regarded as thoroughly uncivilized and lawless. The Bheels are an aboriginal people, who principally inhabited the hill country in Khandesh, to the north-east of Bombay. It was annexed to the dominions of British India after

* *James Outram, a Biography*, by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I London: Smith, Elder & Co., Vol. 1, p. 292.

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the downfall of the Peshwa in 1818. The Bheels then were about 55,000 in number. Some of them had taken to agriculture, but the greater number were simply marauders. They inhabited the rocky ranges in that part of the country, where, protected by the strength of their position, " they have since dwelt, subsisting partly on their own industry, but more generally on the plunder of the rich land-holders in their vicinity, considering depredation on the inhabitants of the plain as a sort of privilege, and a tax upon all persons passing through the country of their occupation as a national right."* Though small in stature, they were strong and wiry, and possessed the martial qualities of courage and endurance, which rendered them, when civilized, admirably fitted for service in the army. Since the close of the great Mahratta war, there had been ample opportunities for these hardy mountaineers to subsist on plunder and rapine. It was said that, at the time of the annexation of the country, " fifty notorious leaders infested this once flourishing 'garden of the west,' and their every command was implicitly obeyed by upwards of five thousand ruthless followers, whose delight alone consisted in the murderous foray, and whose subsistence depended entirely on the fruits of their spoil. Smarting also under the repeatedly broken pledges of the former Government, and rendered savage from the wholesale slaughter of their families and relations, the Bheels were more than usually suspicious of a new Government of foreigners, and less than ever inclined to submit to the bonds of order and restraint."†

* *Biography*, Vol. I, p. 53. † *Ibid.*, p. 56.

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In the year 1825, the Government of Bombay determined to establish an agency in the Bheel country. The north-western portion was assigned to Lieutenant Outram, and he was entrusted with the duty of raising a Bheel Corps of Light Infantry. Mountstuart Elphinstone was then Governor of Bombay. He was most anxious to try the effect of conciliation upon this rough and untutored race, and he desired to carry out a policy of reclamation rather than one of extermination. The officers appointed to the new agency, and especially Outram, threw themselves heartily into this humane and friendly design. Outram endeavoured to found the proposed corps by himself living among the people, entering into their simple modes of life, and joining in their adventurous pursuits. An expedition conducted with the regular troops was made among them, and several of them were captured. Outram formed the project of founding the corps through the medium of these captives, so some were released to bring in their relatives with the pledge that they all should be set at liberty. "I thus effected," to use his own words, "an intercourse with some of the leading Chiefs, went alone with them into their jungles, and gained their confidence by living unguarded among them, until I persuaded five of the most adventurous to risk their fortunes with me, which small beginning I considered ensured ultimate success."* The first recruits were very shy, but they gradually gained confidence. On one occasion, Outram was staying at the very place where, only eleven years before, some Bheels had been enticed by the

* *Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 61.

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Peshwa's officers, and then had cruelly been massacred. A few of those who were with him naturally imagined that a similar trick was about to be played upon them. Fifteen of the more timid fled on the first alarm. "The moment I heard of the rumour," he wrote, "I ordered the Bheels to assemble, and was promptly obeyed. I explained to them how much disappointed I had reason to be in men who, notwithstanding the confidence I placed in them, sleeping under their watch every night (having none but a Bheel guard at my residence), still continued to harbour suspicions of me. The feeling with which they answered me was so gratifying that I do not regret the cause which brought it forth. They immediately went after the fugitives, and returned with eight in the evening." He employed those who remained steadfast to him in putting down robbery. He liberally rewarded them. He obtained the pardon of two of their most notorious leaders, who had voluntarily submitted themselves; and, by thus exercising clemency, he won their confidence and esteem. Marching with some of his new recruits, he went with them to one of the head quarters of the regular troops, and induced the latter to fraternize with them. In fact, he succeeded in gathering round him a compact corps of orderly and soldierlike men, who became devotedly attached to him and to the Government whom he served.

The quality which most completely enlisted the sympathies of these children of the forests and the hills, was his proficiency in sport. Outram was a thorough sportsman. He delighted in dangerous sport, not only for its own sake, but because he considered it part of his duty

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to shew his subordinates an example of courage and endurance. "The secret of his success," wrote Sir F. Goldsmid, "lay in the unselfish and unwearied pursuance of efforts to win them. He spared no pains to establish over his outlawed friends the power which springs from tested sympathy—not that inspired by awe alone. They found, not only that he surpassed them in all they most admired, namely, in all that was most manly, but that he thoroughly understood them and their ways; that he loved them; that he could, and did, enter into their fears and their difficulties, their joys and their sorrows. Such a bond, all powerful in its action, could be established and maintained only by the genial intercourse of daily life. They felt that he essentially belonged to themselves; while his active habits brought him into constant contact with the minute interests of their every-day existence. No wonder that we hear of his memory still lingering in Khandesh, shrouded by a semi-divine halo."*

The great majority of the Bheels were sportsmen by nature and by habit. Tigers, many of them man-eaters, abounded in the hills; and the simple-minded people readily yielded their admiration, and gave their help, to one who was a master in the exciting adventures of the chase. Outram had a favourite elephant named Hyder, which he sometimes used in his shooting expeditions, but he more frequently went after the tigers on foot. On one occasion, a tiger was discovered by the side of a hill in a thicket of prickly pear. He had with him one European comrade, who fired at the

* *Biography*. Vol. I, p. 97.

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animal and missed, when it sprang forward with a roar and seized Outram. Both rolled down the side of the hill. Being released from its claws for a moment, he calmly drew his pistol and killed the animal. The Bheels who were with him, on seeing their chief injured, uttered a loud lamentation, but he quieted them with the simple remark, "What do I care for the clawing of a cat!"—a speech which was never forgotten, and was long used as a by-word among them.*

On another occasion, a tiger was found in a densely wooded ravine. Outram at once proceeded thither on foot, rifle in hand. It was impossible to catch sight of the animal owing to the thickness of the jungle, and he was unable to see the end of the gorge where it was likely to emerge. He climbed a tree, therefore, the branches of which overhung the ravine, and his attendants, tying their turbans and waistbands together, made a rope which they bound beneath his arms, and he was thereby lowered, dangling in the air right over the gorge. He was thus enabled to see clearly, and, as the tiger came out he obtained an excellent shot and killed it. When he was drawn up again into the tree, he laughingly turned to his trusty Bheels, and exclaimed, "You have suspended me like a thief from a tree, but—I killed the tiger!"†

On two occasions, at least, he attacked a tiger on foot armed only with a spear. One evening he had been at a party where the conversation had been about hunting, and a story had been told of a tiger having been speared from horseback. Determined not to be outdone at his

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* *Biography*, Vol. I, p. 98. † *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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favourite sport, he resolved to attack one on foot, armed in the same simple fashion. He was seen the following morning very busily employed in sharpening a stout Mahrati spear; and, taking it with him, he descended from his elephant, as he approached the place where a tiger had been discovered. The animal was tracked to a den which had two entrances. Stopping up one of these with bushes, Outram stationed himself, spear in hand, at the other. "There he stood," wrote an eye-witness, "spear in hand, like a gladiator in the arena of a Roman amphitheatre, ready for the throwing open of the wild beast's cage. The bushes were set fire to, and the tiger, by no means relishing the smoke, came puffing and blowing like a porpoise, every five or six seconds, to get a little fresh air; but scenting the elephant, he was always fain to retreat again. At last, there was a low angry growl, and a scuffling rustle in the passage. The tiger sprang out, and down descended the long lance into his neck, just behind the right ear. With one stroke of his paw, he smashed the spear close to the head. There was a pretty business. The tiger, one step below, with the steel sticking in his neck, had gathered his huge hind quarters below him for a desperate spring; and my friend, armed after the fashion of the South Sea Islanders, standing on a little mound, breathing defiance and brandishing his bamboo on high —odds by far too overpowering; so, to bring things a little more to equality, I threw in a couple of balls, which turned the scale." The tiger was killed with further shots. "Had the spear not been directed with the most cool self-possession, so as to arrest the progress of the tiger, and give me a slight chance of

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hitting," added the writer, " there would have been an end of one whose like we shall seldom see again ; at best it was the happy accomplishment of a very rash vow."

By deeds of prowess such as these, as well as by acts of kindliness, Outram attracted to himself the hearts of this rude people, and for years after he had left them, they dwelt with delight on the recollection of them. But his ten years' residence among them was drawing to its close. His faculty of conciliating a primitive people was appreciated by the Government of Bombay, and he was removed to another sphere of duty where similar services were required. This was the Mahi Kanta in Gujarat, a tract of country nominally under the Government of the Gaikawar of Baroda. Before he went to the Mahi Kanta, however, another great change had been effected in his life. In December, 1835, he was married at Bombay to his cousin, Miss Margaret Anderson, to whom he had for some time been engaged. The exigencies of the service required that he should leave his bride soon after their marriage ; but she joined him at Ahmedabad in the following May. Ill-health compelled her to return to England not long afterwards.

More stirring times were at hand. In 1838, an army was assembled for the purpose of restoring the exiled Amir of Afghanistan, Shah Sujah, to his throne, and Outram sought permission to join it in his military capacity. He was accordingly appointed Aide de Camp to Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief. Proceeding to Bombay, he embarked on November 21, 1838, with the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, for the mouth

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of the Indus, on his way through Scinde to Afghanistan. The next few years of his life were full of military stir and service. This is not the place to give an abstract of the history of the first Afghan war, and only a brief outline can be given of Outram's share in it. This consisted chiefly in negotiating for supplies for the Bombay column on its upward march through Scinde and Baluchistan; in commanding a party sent in pursuit of the fugitive Amir, Dost Muhammad Khan, as the English army was approaching Kabul; and in helping to tranquillize the turbulent country between Kabul and Kandahar. He was present at the capture of Khelat, at which he rendered invaluable service; and, disguised as an Afghan, he carried the intelligence of this important event by a rugged and difficult route to Sonmiani, on the coast, in the incredibly short time of eight days.

General Willshire, who was in command of the detachment which had captured the fort of Khelat, said in his despatch to the Governor-General: "I have deputed Captain Outram to take a duplicate of this despatch to the Governor of Bombay by the direct route from hence to Sonmiani, the practicability or otherwise of which for the passage of troops I consider it an object of importance to ascertain." This expedition was, perhaps, the most hazardous and romantic that Outram ever undertook. He assumed the part of a Muhammadan saint, and was sometimes in imminent danger of detection. He was accompanied by only one servant, and was under the guidance of two men from a neighbouring fort, each with an armed attendant. The party were mounted on four ponies and two camels.

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On the third day he was nearly detected; but "at night they resumed their hazardous march, and did not draw bridle until dawn; their great object being to outstrip the exciting intelligence of the capture of Khelat. After having traversed thirty miles of country without espying a trace of human habitation, they availed themselves of the bank of a river to lie down and sleep until morning. Then they awoke to find that their guide had decamped. But such an occurrence was not extraordinary; and the mishap was soon remedied by the enlistment into their service of a stray shepherd. Eight hours' ride over a good but deserted road, brought them across a lofty range of mountains to the bed of a river, where water and a little green grass for the horses, and a little tamarisk for the camels, supplied a wholesome addition to the scanty allowance on which the poor beasts had subsisted."* One morning, there appeared near Outram as he was reading the unwelcome sight of a ferocious-looking Baluchi, armed with a long matchlock. No sooner, however, did he hear a call to Outram's attendants, and see them rise in response, than he made off. During the entire journey, Outram was obliged to content himself with subsistence on dates and water, to carry out his assumed character of sanctity. At Sonmiani, he sailed to Karachi, where he astonished his brother-in-law, General Farquharson, by appearing before him unexpectedly in the dress of an Afghan, sword and small shield inclusive. Next day, Outram sailed for Bombay, where he received the thanks of the Government, as well as of the Supreme Government, for the

* *Biography*, Vol. I, p. 204.

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"very interesting and valuable documents" he had sent them regarding the route he had just traversed.

Soon after his return to Bombay, Outram was appointed Political Agent in Lower Scinde, and he took charge of his office at Hyderabad, the capital, on February 24, 1840. The position throughout Scinde was peculiarly critical during the three years of Outram's service there. The Government was in the hands of certain powerful Amirs, or Chiefs, who were closely related, and who were sadly opposed to each other by family prejudices and jealousies, which ultimately proved fatal to their power. The march of the English army through their country to Afghanistan was scarcely tolerated, but fear kept them from any overt acts of hostility. When news of the reverses in Afghanistan was received, the attitude of these Chiefs very naturally became suspicious and inimical. Outram went among them as their friend. He certainly acquired their confidence in a marvellous manner; and it may, perhaps, be truthfully asserted, that if the conduct of affairs had been entirely entrusted to him, the final issue would have been very different to what it really was. It is sufficient to observe that, while he was thoroughly loyal in his obedience to his superior officers, he was consistently opposed to the policy that was adopted, and to the mode of treatment to which the Chiefs of Scinde were subjected.

The first year of Major Outram's residence in Scinde was comparatively tranquil. In August, 1841, the negotiations throughout the whole of the country came under his control, the Political Agent in Upper Scinde having died, owing to the terribly hot and trying climate.

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He was obliged to travel in the height of the hot weather to Quetta to assume charge there. But though so great a responsibility was placed upon him, he was encouraged by the knowledge that he had the confidence and approbation of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, who, writing with reference to a certain course of policy which he had adopted, said: "It is generous and bold. I am always disposed to turn to the judgement of those in whom I place such confidence as I place in you."* At the end of 1841, came the disasters in Afghanistan. The English forces there were almost annihilated, and only one garrison—that in the fort of Jelalabad—gallantly held out. The year 1842 was one of continuous and heavy strain to Outram. Serving in a border-land, through which supplies and reinforcements had to pass, the responsibility of forwarding supplies, and of pacifying the Chiefs of Scinde rested in a great measure upon him. Not long afterwards, he obtained leave to proceed to Bombay, with the object of returning to England on furlough.

Outram, however, was not able immediately to set his face homeward. Soon after reaching Bombay, he received an order from Government to join Sir Charles Napier as Commissioner for arranging a treaty which was about to be placed before the Chiefs of Scinde. At once, setting aside personal considerations, he responded to the call of public duty. When, on January 4, 1843, he joined Sir Charles Napier, the latter was in the field advancing against the Chiefs of Upper Scinde. Major Outram used his best endeavours to induce the

* *Biography*, Vol. I, p. 222.

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aged Chief, Mir Rustam, to yield, but they were frustrated by the underhand intrigues of Rustam's brother, Ali Murad. The Fort of Imamghar, the residence of this Chief, was abandoned and destroyed by the advancing army. After these operations, Outram was sent to Hyderabad, to conduct the negotiations there, and he went with the sincere desire of effecting an amicable settlement. He was nearly successful in persuading the Amirs of Hyderabad to sign the treaty that had been proposed to them by the British Government; but the temper of the towns-people had been provoked by what they considered the unjust and high-handed proceedings of the Commander-in-Chief, and an attack was made on the Residency in overwhelming force. After a courageous defence, the small party, under Outram, withdrew on board two little steamers that were lying in the river Indus, near which Hyderabad is situated; and left the capital, to join the army under Sir Charles Napier at Meanee. Two days after the attack on the Residency, the battle of Meanee was fought, in which the Baluchis behaved most bravely, but were defeated (February 17, 1843). Outram was not present at it, as he had been sent to destroy a forest in the neighbourhood, which it was imagined might afford the enemy a convenient refuge. He was, however, entrusted with the despatches announcing the victory of Meanee; and, soon after his reaching Bombay, he left for England. Outram was thoroughly opposed to the policy which finally led to the conquest and annexation of Scinde, and he practically marked his disapproval of it by declining to accept his share of the prize-money which was awarded to the victorious army.

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Outram had, after four-and-twenty years' continuous service in India, fully merited his leave. In May, 1843, he rejoined his wife, who had long been absent from him, in England. He did not enjoy his repose very long. There were rumours of hostilities in India, and he at once volunteered his services. On his arrival at Bombay, he heard of war having been proclaimed against the Mahrattas. No appointment was given to him, however, requiring service in the field.

In May, 1845, Colonel Outram was appointed Resident of Satara. He was in this position just two years. Mrs. Outram had joined him, and his stay there was, perhaps, the most pleasant time he had enjoyed during his long residence in India. In May, 1847, he was transferred to Baroda, and his service there was, on the contrary, the most anxious and irksome period of all. He was not engaged against an enemy in the field, or in combating a policy of which he disapproved; but he was brought face to face with a gigantic system of corruption, against which his honest and transparent character heartily revolted. This was a system of bribery known in that part of the country as "Khatput." It was peculiarly virulent in Baroda. Outram's vigorous endeavour to suppress it, brought him not only into collision with the Gaikawar of Baroda, at whose Court he was Resident, but also with the Government of Bombay, which disapproved of the measures he adopted. On resigning his appointment, he returned to England, where he brought the whole subject before the Court of Directors, and the result of his appeal to them was his restoration to office by the Governor-General, who had meanwhile placed Baroda under the direct control

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of the Government of India. He returned for a time to Baroda, where he had the satisfaction of seeing the course he had advocated pursued, and the persons whom he had suspected dismissed by the Gaikawar.

In October, 1854, Outram received from Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India, the highest diplomatic position he could attain, namely, that of Resident of Lucknow. We think that our readers would like to see the following extract from a kind and filial letter which he wrote at this time to his aged mother, who was still living, and enjoying vigorous health: "Margaret will have told you of the good fortune which has befallen me, Lord Dalhousie having selected me for the highest political office in India, the Residency of Lucknow. You can now, therefore, have no scruple to receive from me whatever may be necessary to your comfort. Lucknow is a delightful climate, I am told, and we have a favourite hill station to go to in the hot weather, where the climate is equal to that of Italy."*

The Kingdom of Oudh was at that time in a most lamentable condition. The reigning Nawab was a confirmed profligate, and incapable of attending to the affairs of State. His ministers and courtiers were corrupt to the core. He was himself under the influence of buffoons, poetasters, and actors. The people groaned under the worst form of oppression. This was the more serious as the East India Company's possessions adjoined Oudh on three sides, and most of the sepoys in the Bengal army were recruited there. Outram's

* *Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 93.

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first duty was to make inquiry into the actual condition of affairs, and to present a report upon it to the Governor-General. He reached Lucknow on December 5, and was received by the Nawab with a profusion of Oriental splendour. Outram gave him the most careful and earnest advice; but all his remonstrances were unavailing, and the report he felt compelled to give to the Governor-General was of the darkest and most gloomy character. He was, however, strongly opposed to the last resort which seemed inevitable, namely, the annexation of the country; and even the Governor-General, in the despatch he addressed to the Court of Directors, while he advocated a new and stringent treaty being entered into, stated plainly, "I, for my part, do not advise that the Province of Oudh should be declared to be British territory."*

After anxious consideration, however, the Court determined that there could be no other remedy, and in February, 1856, it was decreed that Oudh should be annexed. It fell to Outram's lot to perform the painful duty of acquainting the Nawab with this determination, and the scene at the reception in which he endeavoured to persuade him to sign the treaty, making over his territory to the British Government, was peculiarly touching. The Nawab placed his turban in the Resident's lap, and entreated him to have compassion on him. But the limits of forbearance had been reached, and the Resident's

* *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, by Sir W. Lee-Warner. Vol. 2, p. 322.

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orders must be obeyed. The Province passed, at that time, peacefully into the possession of the English Government. The press of work on General Outram, now appointed Chief Commissioner of the newly acquired territory, was crushing, and under the severe tension of this anxiety and strain, his health again gave way. One of Lord Dalhousie's last acts before leaving India was to congratulate him on receiving the honour of a Knight Commandership of the Bath; but, soon after Lord Canning had assumed the onerous duties of Governor-General, Sir James Outram was obliged to resign his appointment as Chief Commissioner, and that distinguished officer, Sir Henry Lawrence, was sent thither as his successor. He returned to England for the benefit of his health in May, 1856.

Sir James Outram was not destined long to enjoy the quiet and rest of retirement. At the commencement of the following year, war was declared against Persia, and the command of the army proceeding thither was offered to him. This offer acted on his mind like a powerful tonic. He declared that he was ready to start at a moment's notice. He arrived at Bombay on December 22, 1856, but did not reach Persia until January 27. As it was waged out of India, a description of the Persian war is beyond our immediate purpose; and so we shall content ourselves with stating that it was brief and decisive. No sooner had it been brought to a successful issue, than the services of the commander and of his army were urgently demanded in India. The great Sepoy Rebellion had broken out, and every loyal man was required in that country.

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Directly Sir James Outram reached India, he hastened to Calcutta to place himself at the disposal of the Governor-General. He arrived there on July 31, 1857, and was immediately placed in command of all the divisions of the army between Calcutta and Lucknow, and, Sir Henry Lawrence having been killed in the siege, he was also appointed the chief Civil Officer in Oudh. The position of affairs was exceedingly critical. The garrison at Lucknow was gallantly holding out, but was surrounded by the mutinous regiments in Oudh, who were supported by what may appropriately be called a national uprising in that Province. General Havelock had made a vigorous effort to relieve Lucknow, having literally fought his way up inch by inch; but he had been compelled to fall back on Cawnpore. Sir James Outram hastened to join him there with reinforcements; and, recollecting the unparalleled exertions which General Havelock had already made, he determined, with the generosity and chivalry that formed so conspicuous a feature in his character, that he would relinquish the command of the relieving army, and allow General Havelock to reap the glory of the enterprise, himself serving under him as a volunteer. On September 19, the united force crossed from Cawnpore into Oudh. By the 23rd, it had reached the Alam Bagh, near Lucknow. Halting a day to recruit its strength, it advanced towards the Residency on the further side of the town. Clearing the bridge over the river at Char Bagh, the troops made a bend towards the right, and, through a perfect hurricane of shot, reached the Residency. The beleaguered garrison, after a desperate defence of three months, was relieved, or rather rein-

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forced, for it soon became very plain that the relieving army was merely an addition to the garrison, and that the siege was destined to be renewed with even greater pertinacity than before. Sir James Outram now assumed the chief command. Resolutely he braced himself to the arduous task, and the last stage of the celebrated defence was as stubbornly contested as the first.

On November 9, Sir Colin Campbell, the new Commander-in-Chief, advanced from Cawnpore for the final relief of Lucknow. In rapid succession the different points intervening between the garrison and him were captured. The Alam Bagh, where a detachment of Outram's force had been detained, was relieved; the Dilkusha, a pleasure garden of the late Nawab, was occupied; next day, the great building of the La Martiniere was taken; and, on November 17, the three Generals met and Lucknow was effectually relieved. Six busy days succeeded. The enemy swarmed on every side, and the garrison, including the sick, the wounded, the women, and the children, had to be withdrawn. This was done by one of the most delicate and beautiful feats in modern warfare. The most perfect arrangements were made to prevent any one being injured by even a stray musket-shot. All the defences, from the Residency to the Dilkusha, were in Sir Colin Campbell's possession. A vigorous bombardment was opened on the enemy's chief position at midnight on the 22nd, and, while he was expecting an assault, the garrison was withdrawn, and threading their way through the tortuous lanes of the city, between the long lines of English soldiers, past into perfect safety. The enemy

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had been so completely deceived that he continued to fire on the old positions many hours after they had been abandoned. "The movement of retreat," to quote the Commander-in-Chief's own despatch, "was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combinations. Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns with which I was myself to crush the enemy, if he had dared to follow up the picquets. It was my endeavour that nothing should be left to chance. The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous lane, and all these precautions were absolutely necessary, to ensure the safety of the force, and the conduct of the officers, in exactly carrying out their instructions, was beyond all praise."* The arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency were left to Sir James Outram, and were admirably carried out. He wanted to be the last man to leave, but gracefully yielded his claim to one who had commanded there even longer than he.

After this beautiful manœuvre had been effected, and all the sick and infirm had been placed in safety at Cawnpore, Sir Colin Campbell left Lucknow in order to pursue the enemy in another direction, before continuing further operations in Oudh. He resolved, however, to maintain a firm position in the very heart of the Province by leaving a sufficient force at the Alam Bagh to keep the city of Lucknow in check. Sir James Outram was appointed to the command of this force. Nobly did the little garrison perform its duty under

* *Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 272.

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its noble commander. By his tact and forethought, this position was maintained against ever increasing foes until, in the following March, the Commander-in-Chief was prepared to return for the final capture of Lucknow. On the first day of that month, Sir Colin Campbell reached the Alam Bagh with his splendid force of 20,000 disciplined troops, and 180 guns. The command of a portion of this army was given to Sir James Outram, and he retained it until, on March 19, the city of Lucknow was completely taken. His last act as Chief Commissioner of Oudh was to issue Lord Canning's famous Proclamation; but, believing that it was too severe, he obtained permission to accompany it with a circular of his own. This we quote, because it exhibits in a peculiarly clear light the feelings of clemency and kindness which he entertained towards the misguided people: "The Chief Commissioner of Oudh, in sending you this Proclamation, wishes to inform you that if you at once come in, ready to obey his orders, none of your lands will be confiscated, and your claims to lands held by you prior to annexation will be reheard."* This was his last service in Oudh. On April 4, 1858, he left Lucknow, and finally quitted India on July 20, 1860.

Sir James Outram returned to his native land in sadly shattered health. There was something very touching in the fact that, though the highest honours a grateful country could bestow were showered upon him, he was so feeble and broken in health, he could not thoroughly enjoy them. He fully appreciated, however, the kind-

* *Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 335.

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ness that had bestowed them. He felt that they were given to him less on account of his own individual merits than because he was a representative of the great service to which he had the honour to belong. On one occasion, when a testimonial was presented to him by several friends, he expressed the secret of the attachment which bound him to India in words that it would be unpardonable to omit, as they express clearly the sentiments of so many of the truest friends of India. "If to anything in myself I owe such success as I may have attained," he said, "it is mainly to this —that throughout my career I have loved the people of India, regarded their country as my home, and made their weal my first object. And though my last service in the field was against the comrades of my old associates, the madness of a moment has not obliterated from my mind the fidelity of a century, and I can still love and still believe." The last two years were but a protracted struggle with suffering. He was not able even to go to Scotland to see his aged mother once more, the journey being too much for him. Alleviation was sought by going to a milder climate than that of England in the winter. He first went to Nice and then to Pau. "A little past one o'clock, on the morning of March 11, 1863, he died, sitting in his arm-chair, without a struggle—his face unmoved—his hands resting as if in sleep." A few days later his mortal remains were placed in the beautiful Abbey Church of Westminster, where so many of the best and noblest heroes of England are laid.

This brief account will serve to show how very simple-minded and generous was the character of Sir James

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Outram. He will be best recollected in India among the Bheels and the people of Scinde, as the affectionate friend of the former, and the just sympathizer with the Amirs of the latter. In England he will, perhaps, be better remembered as the skilful general and the chivalrous commander, who, putting aside all personal considerations, gracefully served as a volunteer under his junior officer, lest that officer should be deprived of the honour of the victory for which he had been so long contending. There are two fine monuments of him—one on the Thames Embankment in London, the other in Calcutta. The former bears only one word as inscription—"Outram." The latter bears the following summary of his deeds, with which we conclude: "His life was given to India: in early manhood he reclaimed wild races by winning their hearts. Ghazni, Khelat, the Indian Caucasus, witnessed the daring deeds of his prime: Persia brought to sue for peace, Lucknow relieved, defended, and recovered, were fields of his later glories. Faithful servant of England: large-minded and kindly ruler of her subjects: in all the true knight: 'The Bayard of the East.'"

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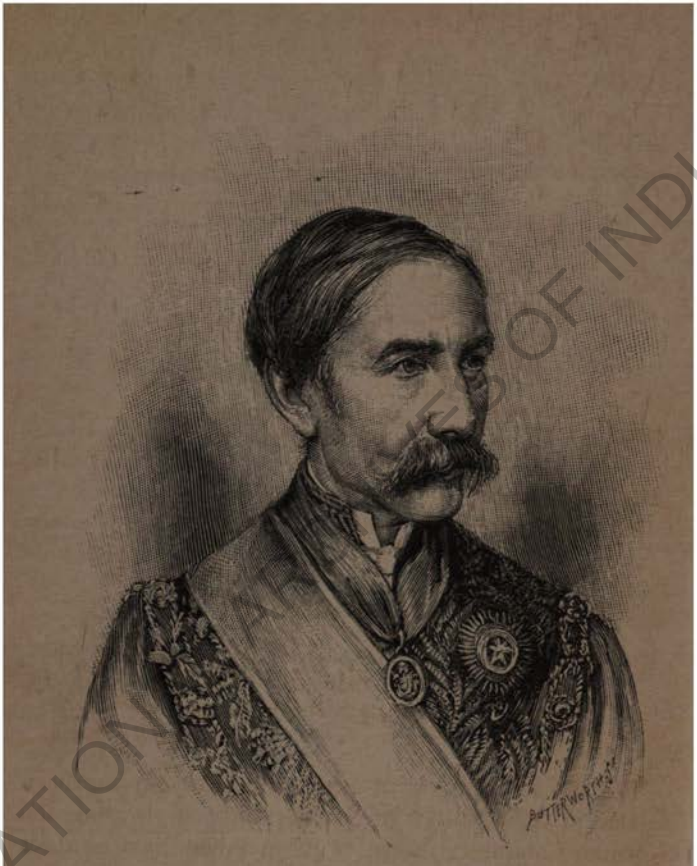

SIR BARTLE FRERE.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SIR BARTLE FRERE:

THE COURTIER CIVILIAN.

A.D. 1834—1867.

"Not once or twice in our fair island story,
The path of duty was the way to glory:
He, that ever following her commands,
On with toil of heart and knees and hands,
Through the long gorge to the far light has won
His path upward, and prevailed,
Shall find the toppling crags of Duty scaled
Are close upon the shining table-lands
To which our God Himself is moon and sun."

Tennyson.

THE Frere family is of ancient descent, having been settled in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk since the Norman Conquest. Some of its members have in days gone by rendered illustrious service to the State. Henry Bartle Edward Frere was the sixth son of Mr. Edward Frere, and was born on March 29, 1815, at his father's residence, Clydach House, Llanelly, Breconshire. He was educated at the Grammar School, Bath, where he

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made no great progress in his studies, but was evidently very thoroughly grounded in them, because, when he entered the East India Company's College at Haileybury, he found himself last but one in the entrance examination, and yet he was able, by persevering exertion, to rise to the head of his term, which he would scarcely have been able to do unless he had received a thoroughly good training.

It is now the universal custom for travellers to India to proceed thither by what is commonly called "the overland route" through Egypt; but at the time when Frere received his appointment in the Bombay Civil Service, this route was unknown, the usual way to India being by sailing vessels round the Cape of Good Hope. Indeed, so little was the direct route to the East known, that Frere had the greatest difficulty in obtaining permission from the Court of Directors to his gratifying the desire he had formed of proceeding to Bombay through Egypt, and down the Red Sea. Leave having at last been granted to this strange request, Frere started from Falmouth for Malta, where he remained a few weeks with his distinguished relative, Mr. Hookham Frere, and studied Arabic with the celebrated missionary traveller, Dr. Wolff, who, at the end of their reading, jocularly declared that "he was fit to scold his way through Egypt." At Alexandria he met four gentlemen, who were also making their way to India, and with them went by Cairo and Thebes to Kosseir on the Red Sea, where they expected to meet a steamer, which was to have been sent from India, as an experiment. No steamer having appeared, they crossed the Red Sea

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in an open boat, and finally proceeded in an Arab coasting vessel from Mocha to Bombay, where they arrived on September 23, 1834. During this adventurous voyage, they had to endure much privation from exposure and from heat.

Even at the present day, the account of this hazardous voyage is interesting. It was undertaken in the height of the hot weather, when the heat in the Red Sea is almost unbearable to those who are going down it in the enjoyment of every convenience in well-equipped steamers. We give a brief extract from the description of it in Frere's Biography. "By the help of the British Consul at Kosseir, an Arab, they chartered a ship's long-boat, which had been in use as a fishing-boat, to take them to Mocha, a distance of more than nine hundred miles. The stern of the boat was decked over for about seven or eight feet, and here the luggage was placed under cover; but there was no awning, and the thermometer under the deck used to stand at about 115°. They crossed over to the east coast, and coasted down it, amongst the innumerable coral islands, reefs, and sand-banks with which it is studded, generally landing to cook and sleep at night. From Jiddah, the port of Mecca, they sailed at sunset, and were caught in a violent storm, which blew them away from the land, and were in considerable danger of being swamped. 'The sailors hung a heavy pig of lead over the bows to deaden the way, took down sail and mast, and then sat down and howled.' By three in the morning the storm lulled, and they found themselves at daybreak close to some sand-banks, beyond which was a small fortified island, where they remained a day to set things straight.

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They reached Mocha on August 31, sixteen days from Kosseir, and, landing the following day, put up in the house of Sheik Taib, the Consul and East India Company's Agent. An Arab dhow, the last vessel which was to sail that season for Bombay, had left that morning with twenty pilgrims returning from Mecca to Surat; but she was still in sight, and the Consul sent after her a small boat, which succeeded in recalling her. Frere and three of his companions embarked in the dhow, engaging the stern cabin, and laying in provisions for fourteen days, which was supposed to be the limit of time likely to be required to sail the two thousand miles to Bombay. But for some reason the vessel sailed slowly, and the voyage was protracted to twenty days; the provisions ran short, and the captain and crew began to despair of reaching Bombay. Although they had no chronometer but an old silver watch, and steered by the aid of Frere's pocket compass, they must have made a good course, for at last, one night, Frere being on the look out, perceived a light which proved to be that of the Bombay lighthouse."*

Frere's first appointment after his arrival was that of Assistant to the Principal Collector of Poona; but, in a few months, he was transferred to work in the Revenue Survey and Settlement Department, which brought him closely into contact with the people, and gave him an abundance of congenial occupation. The country in which he was thus to be employed had been incorporated into the British dominions in 1818, when it was con-

* *Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, by John Martineau. London: John Murray, 1895, Vol. 1, p. 14.

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quered from the Peshwa, Baji Row. A rough assessment of the revenue was made at that time, and it had been continued ever since without survey or revision. The consequence of this apathetic course was that the collection of the revenue was left very much in the hands of the Hindu Collectors of Revenue, who did not scruple to collect it in a rough and ready fashion, whereby they enriched themselves, and impoverished the peasants. The worst forms of coercing the latter were used, even personal torture being sometimes employed; and the people could have acquired no very favourable opinion of the benefit of British rule. The result was that the land was being rapidly depopulated, the people were miserable, and the revenue inadequate. The condition of affairs at that time is best described in the words of Sir Bartle Frere himself, some thirty years afterwards. "Rarely," he remarked in a speech before the Bombay Legislative Council, "more than two-thirds of the culturable land in any district were under cultivation. Frequently as much as two-thirds of the land were waste. Villages almost deserted were frequently to be met with; some were without a light in them, utterly uninhabited. The people were sunk in the lowest depths of poverty; they had few recognised rights in the land; the boundaries of the different villages and different estates were often unsettled, and gave rise to disputes which there were not the means of finally deciding. The results of such a system might be easily guessed. In good seasons the people were forced to pay to the uttermost farthing, without having the certainty that what they paid really went to the Government Treasury. In bad seasons, if they were unable

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to obtain remissions, they had no resource but to leave the country, and seek subsistence elsewhere."

Such was the miserable condition of the Mahratta country in 1835—not from the rule of the English, but because they had made no adequate exertion to amend the state of affairs. At that time an inquiry was instituted. A beginning was made in the district of Indapur, under Mr. Goldsmid, of the Bombay Civil Service, with Frere as his Assistant. This service lasted only four months, and, at the end of this time, Frere succeeded him as Assistant Revenue Commissioner of the Bombay Presidency, under Williamson and afterwards Vibart, both of the same Service. The authority of the Revenue Commissioner extended over the Presidency of Bombay, and his Assistants were required to travel over the whole country. For the six years and a half during which Frere held the office of Assistant, he was on the move for the greater part of each year, only breaking up his camp for a time during the rainy season. His work consisted in supervising the Survey and Revenue Settlement in the various districts, in making an accurate survey of each district in which he was employed, and in proposing an equitable assessment for all Government lands. During this inquiry, Mr. Williamson and his companions went into every part of the district, living with and among the people, sometimes dwelling in unfavourable weather in Hindu resting places, or in tents sheltered by sheds. They were thus enabled to get at the mind of the peasants, to ascertain the true state of affairs, and to determine the proper remedies. These latter were, what have been since recognized as

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the true principles of revenue statesmanship—a correct survey, a light and moderate assessment, fixity of tenure, and recognition of proprietorship in the land so long as the revenue was punctually paid. These principles were approved by the Government of Bombay, and they were gradually put into practice. The result was that the people in the Mahratta country were rendered as happy and contented as they had been miserable and poverty-stricken. As we quoted words uttered by Frere to describe the former state of destitution into which the country had fallen, we cannot do better than describe the benefits derived from this wise change in the system in the language of him who had so much to do with effecting it. "It was impossible," he said, in the above-mentioned speech, "to give any one who had not seen the country then an idea of how this India, which is always said to be so immutable, had changed for the better, and how much of that change was due to one good measure of administration, steadily and consistently carried out. Cultivation had increased to a truly remarkable extent; so much so, that he believed it would be a difficult matter now to find anywhere in the Dekkan even a thousand acres of unoccupied culturable land, available to any one wishing to take up land for cultivation. Land was not only occupied, but valued, 'as their lives,' by those to whom it belonged." A few years previously he had written in a more familiar style, "From being the most wretched, depressed set in the Dekkan, the agriculturists have become thriving, independent fellows, thoroughly grateful for what has been done for them."

In this employment he visited the greater part of the

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Presidency of Bombay, and, besides this pleasing work, he was able to indulge in his passion for sport, and Sir James Outram and he became great friends in their mutual taste for excursions after big game, such as lions, tigers, and bears. While in Kandesh, he was prostrated by a severe attack of jungle-fever. The wide acquaintance which his appointment gave him with the peasants of other parts of Bombay besides the Southern Mahratta country, was invaluable, and his daily intercourse with them imparted a love for them and their occupations which never deserted him.

The following extract from a paper written by the late Mr. Lionel Ashburner will give the reader a good idea of the kind of life which Frere led at this period. "The successful Settlement of a district required local knowledge, great patience, tact, and a fluent command of the colloquial *patois* of the country. All these qualifications Frere possessed in a high degree, and his early success may be traced to their influence. He spoke the Mahratta language fluently. Living amongst the people, joining in their field-sports, and sympathizing in all their joys and sorrows, created a kindly feeling towards the people of India which he retained to the last. Owing to the want of what would now be called proper accommodation, much of the business of the country was carried on not only in public, but in the open air, for it was cooler and more convenient than a tent or any house available in those days. Carpets would be laid in some shady spot, the villagers would gather round, chairs would be given to the more dignified, and criminals would be tried in public. The people would often make murmurs of approval or dissent, sometimes

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suggesting that a witness, who was evidently lying, should be sworn on the cow or at some local shrine. I feel sure that Sir Bartle's early education in the patriarchal school had an important influence on his character and future career."

The following recollections of an old Hindu gentleman, who had known Frere since his arrival in Bombay, are both interesting and life-like. " In those days there was only one Revenue Commissioner, under whom there was a covenanted Assistant, and a Hindu officer who kept the records. This was Mr. Narso Lakshman, a competent officer of wide experience, and conversant with all the details of revenue matters. It was from him that Sir Bartle Frere, then young in years, received an insight into the practical working of revenue affairs. Young Frere was always seen sitting on the carpet by the side of old Narsopant, whom he used to call by the respectful name of ' elder uncle.' Whatever difficulties he had, he used to ask for a solution thereof unreservedly from Mr. Narsopant. He studied the Mahratta language, and so great was his mastery over it, that he read all manuscript official papers himself, without the aid of a reader. In the office his gentle and sweet disposition was highly remarkable, so much so that all the subordinates appreciated it extremely. When a clerk or other official asked him any question he was ready with his reply, and that too with the utmost courtesy. His private servants also were treated with the utmost consideration and civility. In all his itinerations he did not fail to inquire into the condition of the peasants. He talked with them freely in the vernacular, inquiring

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who they were, what they wanted, and so on. In the case of the agriculturists, he took good care to know from them if there was any distress; and, when he found any, he reported such cases to Government, and afforded the necessary relief, for which the people liked him much, and bless his memory to this day."*

An entirely new mode of life succeeded. Sir George Arthur, who, in 1842, came to India as Governor of Bombay, appointed him his Private Secretary. The position thus obtained gave him an experience of a totally different, but equally valuable, character. He exchanged tent-life and continued intercourse with villagers for residence with the Governor, and daily communion with an intellectual and courteous English statesman. This latter privilege exercised a powerful influence over him. The greater part of the time spent in the society of Sir George Arthur was that immediately succeeding the conquest and annexation of Scinde. Party feeling regarding the policy then adopted was very strong, and Frere had the opportunity of observing how a statesman who had enjoyed much experience in the Government of the Colonies bore himself amidst the clamour of conflicting opinions. It is sufficient to state here that Sir George Arthur exercised so much tact and consideration that he was held in respect by both parties.

On October 10, 1844, Frere was united to the Governor's second daughter, a union which was singularly happy. In November, 1844, he took his bride to

* *Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, Vol. 1, pp. 28, 34.

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England, whither he went on furlough. They returned to India in November, 1847, and in the following year, he was appointed Resident at the Court of the Raja of Satara. This minor principality had been created by the Government at the end of the great Mahratta war, and it had been placed in the possession of a member of an old Mahratta family. In the treaty of September 25, 1819, it was stipulated that the territory should be continued to the sons, heirs, and successors of the Raja in perpetuity. Twenty years later the British Government were compelled to depose the Raja on account of misconduct, and placed his brother on the throne. As the new occupant of the throne was childless, the Governor of Bombay pointed out at the time the likelihood of the succession becoming vacant, unless the Raja was permitted to adopt an heir, "a question which," he remarked, "should be left entirely open for consideration when the event occurs." Soon after Frere's appointment as Resident, this event did occur. The Raja died. He had previously asked permission to adopt a son, which was withheld; but, in his last hours, he did adopt a son, without the consent of the British Government. It was now decided that this son should inherit all the private and personal property belonging to the late Raja, but that the principality itself should lapse to the Government and be annexed to the English dominions. This was the first public act of the kind which was done by the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, and it created a good deal of controversy and comment. The Resident himself was decidedly opposed to it, and he was very anxious that the opinions of Grant Duff and Mountstuart Elphin-

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stone, who had been concerned with the production of the original treaty, should be ascertained. They were both adverse to the annexation, as being contrary to sound policy and strict justice.

The decided manner in which Frere enunciated his views on this point were perfectly disinterested, because it might have interfered with his own prospects, as he was appointed the first Commissioner of the new territory. His clearly expressed opinion, on this occasion, as well as his frank and courteous advice given subsequently to Mahratta Chieftains assembled in durbar, show that, while he had a fellow-feeling for all classes of Hindu society, "he felt a chivalrous affection towards the decayed representatives of the old nobility of the Mahratta country." For two years and a half after this event, Frere administered the territory of Satara as Commissioner, and introduced into it the admirable Revenue System which had now for some years been working in the other parts of the South Mahratta country.

In 1850, Frere was transferred to a position of much greater influence and power as Chief Commissioner of Scinde. Since its conquest and annexation, this Province had first been under the strong hand and iron rule of Sir Charles Napier, its conqueror, and subsequently under Robert Keith Pringle, of the Civil Service, who resigned in 1850. Frere reached Karachi early in January, 1851. The system of administration employed there was what was then called the Non-Regulation System, which differed considerably from that adopted in the smoother and more regular administration in the older territories of the East India Company, and

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which was afterwards more fully employed by Lord Dalhousie in the Punjab and in Oudh. The course of justice was speedier and sharper than in the older Provinces. Military officers, as well as trained Civilians, assisted in the administration of justice, and in the collection of the revenue. There was an admirable system of police. The great land-owners and Chieftains were won by the security afforded them in the possession of their estates. The assessment of the peasants was lightened. Canals were constructed and irrigation improved. In fact, when Frere went to Scinde, he found an excellent working Government, which it was the part of wisdom to maintain. The principal causes for his being remembered in the domestic administration of the Province are the extension of canals, and the creation of the port of Karachi. The latter became one of the most important harbours in British India. It was the natural outlet of the trade of the Punjab and of Scinde; it attracted to it the enterprise of European merchants; and it is now rivalling the great emporium of Bombay.

Frere again visited England in 1856. Ill-health compelled him to go home. He returned to India in March, 1857, and reached Karachi in the middle of the memorable month of May. Immediately on receiving the news of the great Military Mutiny, he acted in the most intrepid and unselfish manner. The key of his conduct is to be found in the following noble words written to Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, which deserve to be remembered, "when the head and heart are threatened, the extremities must take care of themselves." These were not merely vain words. They

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were put into action. There were only two European regiments in Scinde. He sent one to Multan. He despatched a steamer from Karachi to intercept two regiments returning from Persia, and to divert them to Calcutta. Later on he sent one of his Baluchi regiments to the Punjab. Yet the three military outbreaks which took place at the three large stations in Scinde were successfully repressed, and the Province kept in tranquillity. For these eminent services, and for the calm dignity of these acts of self-reliance, Frere received the thanks of the British Parliament, and the honour of Knighthood, being made a Knight Commander of the Bath.

In the year 1859, Sir Bartle Frere was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Council, and he arrived in Calcutta to take his seat December 21, 1859. He was the first Bombay Civilian who had been appointed to the Supreme Council of the Government of India. This was a time of much anxiety, and great care, firmness, and tact were required from all in authority. The Mutiny had just been suppressed, and English ascendency had been maintained; but a new era had commenced, which taxed to the utmost the resources of every Indian statesman. First among the difficulties of the time was the question of finance. The Right Honourable James Wilson, an able financier, was sent from England to make arrangements for the new state of things. Among other measures he instituted the Income Tax, which was received with the severest criticism. Sir Bartle Frere supported it, not because he liked it or considered it adapted to the country; but because, in his own words, "I see no escape. The alternative is nothing less than absolute and early ruin, if

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peace continues—ruin still more rapid should the strain of war come upon us."* On the death of Mr. Wilson, he undertook the duties of Finance Minister at the Viceroy's particular request, and again occupied the same office for six months during the absence on leave of Mr. Wilson's successor. It was also a time of transition. The animosities occasioned by the Mutiny had to be appeased, and the work of reconstruction where the authority of the Government had broken down, had to be undertaken, and in both these duties Sir Bartle Frere took his full share.

A higher position and greater power, or rather a wider sphere for exercising power, now awaited Sir Bartle Frere. The appointment of Governor of Bombay became vacant early in 1862, and he was nominated to fill it. Lord Canning, the Viceroy, with whom he had been associated while in office at Calcutta, heard of this appointment on his homeward voyage, and at once wrote in the following kind and friendly manner: "I do not know when I have read anything with such unmixed pleasure. It has given me a fillip, and a new start in the interest for India, which I carry away with me. God grant you health and strength to do your work in your own noble spirit."

Lady Frere had been compelled by ill-health to leave Calcutta for England, and had reached Madras, when she heard of her husband's appointment to Bombay. She landed immediately; and on Sir Bartle's joining her at Madras, they went together to Bombay, where they landed on April 22, 1862.

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 304.

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Just as Sir Bartle Frere assumed the Government of Bombay, a grave commercial crisis arose in America and Europe. The terrible civil war between the Northern and the Southern States of America was at its height, and this had occasioned a diminution in the quantity of cotton required by the manufactories in the north of England. A famine among the English operatives was the result, and every effort was made to procure a supply of cotton from other parts of the world. Bombay was the great emporium for the cotton-growing districts of India, and the transit of so much material through its port brought with it an unexampled time of prosperity. Sir Bartle heartily exerted himself in the improvement of the public works needed for the transit of cotton from the interior; in ensuring the purity of the exported cotton; in mending the roads leading to the railway stations in the Bombay Presidency; and in the all-important question of irrigation.

Sir Bartle Frere was deeply interested in the question of education, and, as Governor of Bombay, was able to give it considerable impetus. His speeches on various occasions connected with the Bombay University and the Elphinstone College show in a clear light the real pleasure he took in the advancement of the Hindu gentry. Lady Frere seconded him heartily in all efforts for female education, and was the first lady in authority who invited the Hindu and Parsi ladies to Government House. There is no doubt that in this respect Bombay is considerably in advance of other parts of India, and some of the leading reformers of India belong to that Presidency. Amidst all his great desire for the increase

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of Western learning in India, however, Sir Bartle Frere was not unmindful of the advantages of cultivating the study of the vernacular languages of the country. He felt that the only real value of learning consists not in hoarding it up for one's own use, but in imparting it to others in easy and simple language. He endeavoured to impress this truth on his hearers, when, in an address at the University of Bombay, in conferring degrees, he thus exhorted them: "I trust that one of your great objects will always be to enrich your own vernacular literature with the learning which you here acquire. Remember, I pray you, that what is here taught is a sacred trust confided to you for the benefit of your countrymen. The learning which can here be imparted to a few hundreds of scholars must by you be made available through your own vernacular tongues to the many millions of Hindustan."

The time of Sir Bartle's Government of Bombay is memorable on account of the many buildings of public utility which were erected during it, and for the increase of communications by roads as feeders for the railways. The city of Bombay was improved by the introduction of municipal institutions and by the great pains spent on sanitary matters. The Census of 1865 revealed the fact that, in point of size and population, it ranked as the second city in the British Empire, but that the mortality in it was enormous. Strenuous efforts were consequently made to remedy this defect, and to make it as healthy as it was populous.

Sir Bartle Frere was very popular among Hindus and Parsis. He thoroughly understood them and heartily sympathized with them; and, therefore, it will, we

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think, be appropriate to close this brief account of his Government of Bombay by an extract from the words of a Hindu writer: "His appreciation of the Indians, his intimacy with our noble families, his honest fidelity to their great interests, his habitual judiciousness of temper, his wish to see the Indians grow in loyal manliness of temper, the steady attempts he made to open for them a higher sphere of duties and honours, all these enshrine him in the hearts of many as a model ruler."

India did not lose Sir Bartle Frere's services at the end of his term of Government in 1867. Previous to his departure from Bombay, he had been appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and, on his return to England, he at once took his seat in the Council Chamber at the India Office. In 1872, he received a commission which was most congenial to his tastes. In the very year in which he entered the public service, England had expended a large sum in the emancipation of the African slaves in her Colonies, and a close intercourse existed between Bombay and the East Coast of Africa. The traffic in slaves flourished to a most reprehensible extent in Zanzibar, and he was sent there, charged with the duty of inducing the Seyyid to suppress slavery throughout his dominions. He left England on November 21, 1872, accompanied by representatives from the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, and the India Office; and they were afterwards joined by Colonel Lewis Pelly, in whom he had great confidence. At first he failed in his endeavour to induce the Sultan of Zanzibar to conform to the expressed desire of the English Government; and he was at length compelled to leave without the object

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of his mission being attained. On his way north, however, while touching at Mombasa, he sent a despatch to Dr. Kirk, the Consul, with instructions to the senior naval officer on the station, accompanied by a letter to the Sultan, informing him that the slave-trade in his dominions must immediately cease. The English Government, though at first taken by surprise at this prompt and decided action, effectively supported him in all that he had done. In a short time, a telegram dated June 5, 1873, was received in London, announcing that the Sultan had yielded, and that he had signed the treaty abolishing the slave-trade throughout his dominions.

He was thoroughly successful in his efforts, and a treaty was executed whereby the Seyyid of Zanzibar undertook to give up the traffic in slaves, and to abolish slavery in the country under his control.

Dr. Kirk wrote to Sir Bartle early in May of "the grand success we are having under the orders you gave me regarding the slave-trade after the first of May." On June 7 he wrote: "I have been too busy giving effect to your policy that has ended in the treaty to do much else. We have got the treaty, thanks to the orders you gave at Mombasa, which I carried out with an iron hand, more in the spirit of total prohibition than anything else."* Some of the liberated slaves were placed two years later in a settlement near Mombasa, under the Church Missionary Society, named after Sir Bartle, Frere Town.†

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 110.

† *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by Eugene Stock Vol. 3, p. 85.

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A little later a fresh service connected with India was given to Sir Bartle Frere. Our present King, when Prince of Wales, paid a visit to Her Majesty's Indian dominions, and this royal progress elicited the truest loyalty and deepest enthusiasm among the people of India. Sir Bartle was selected to accompany His Royal Highness, and to conduct all the political and diplomatic arrangements connected with this unique tour. It took place during the cold season of 1875-6. He had thus an admirable opportunity of renewing old acquaintances, and of reviving old associations.

In the year 1877, there was a strong inclination felt by the authorities in the Colonial Office for the confederation of the several Colonies belonging to England in South Africa. With this idea in view, Sir Bartle Frere was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and High Commissioner of South Africa. Events were, however, adverse to the carrying out of this scheme. Two of the troublesome minor wars of Great Britain occurred during his tenure of office. The beginning of one—the Zulu war—was marked by a terrible disaster, in which a battalion of English troops was destroyed; and Sir Bartle Frere was made the victim of the popular outcry on the occasion, and he was superseded in his appointment as High Commissioner, and soon afterwards recalled to England. This was a bitter disappointment to him, and it has certainly been the means of postponing the accomplishment of South African federation.

On his return to England on October 5, 1880, Sir Bartle Frere interested himself in the great social and

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religious questions of the day. He was three times elected President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and, during his last presidency, which extended from June, 1882, to a few weeks of his death, he was scarcely ever absent from his post, showing how anxious he was to promote the Oriental studies for which this excellent Society was founded. He also spoke at the Church Congress in 1881 on Missions, and attended meetings of the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The end was drawing near. The anxiety of long and varied service had told on his naturally strong constitution, and, when returning to England the last time, he looked forward longingly to quiet and repose. For himself it meant deep sorrow, which, without exaggeration, shortened his life, for it has, we believe truthfully, been said that he died of a broken heart. This suggestion gives a deep interest to the following pathetic passage in his Life: "Lady Frere, watching by him in the early dawn of a May morning, heard him murmur, as he lay half-conscious, 'If they would only read the Further Correspondence, they would surely understand—they *must* be satisfied.'"* He was ill about four months, and it was hoped that, as the warm weather came, he would be raised up to a renewal of health and strength, but he himself entertained no such hope: On a friend congratulating him on his looking well one day, he pleasantly replied: "But I am packing up my trunks to go." His firm faith and trust in the Lord sustained him to the end. "His weakness," it is said,

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 450.

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" was such that he could not even turn himself in bed, or lift his food to his lips. One form of illness succeeded another, till it seemed as if few parts of him were left untouched, except the brain. There were paroxysms of agonizing pain, which wrung from him moans of anguish, but never one murmur. The thought of thankfulness was ever-present with him. 'I have looked down into the abyss,' he said afterwards to a friend, 'but God has never left me through it all.' 'Name that Name when I am in pain,' he once said to his wife, 'it calls me back.' For his wife and daughters who tended him throughout with devoted care and tenderness, his constant thought was lest they should be overtasked."*

Sir Bartle Frere died May 29, 1884. A few days later he was buried in St. Paul's, near Wellington, Nelson, Sir Henry Lawrence, and other illustrious men who have served their country well. We remember few more sadly solemn sights than that, when the large western doors of the Cathedral opened to receive the funeral procession, bearing to its last resting-place the remains of one of England's best, if not foremost, Pro-Consuls. A statue has been erected to his memory on one of the most beautiful sites in London, the Victoria Embankment, between the statue of his friend, Sir James Outram, and the great Biblical translator, William Tyndale.

The career that we have been contemplating was one of the most varied and notable of our Anglo-Indian statesmen. Several rose to higher position in the Government of India; but few have served with dis-

* *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 449.

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tinction in other parts of the British Empire as well. It has been well said that "he gained the approval of his superiors, the admiration of his subordinates, and the affection of the native people whom he governed with such gentle firmness." The last two words appear to us to describe best the character of Sir Bartle Frere as an administrator. Few knew better how to conceal the steel gauntlet under the velvet glove.

Sir Bartle Frere had a very pleasant manner and address. Contrary to the usual custom of Anglo-Indian officials, who are generally more fluent with their pen than with their tongue, he was an easy and a graceful speaker. His manner had much to say to his acceptability in this respect; but his published speeches show that he was gifted with the power of employing apt and striking imagery and appropriate language.

Little more need be said regarding the great consideration and respect in which Sir Bartle Frere held the inhabitants of India, whether Moslem, Hindu, or Parsi. His attachment to them, and desire for their highest welfare are plainly discernible throughout the whole of his career, whether in the Dekkan, in Scinde, in Calcutta, or Bombay. We add one sentence, however, regarding his own ideal for the future Government of India, which coincides with that of some of the best and most far-seeing of our statesmen. "The English Government," he said on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Elphinstone College, "has looked to governing India for the benefit of the people of India, and, as far as possible, through the agency of the people of India; and the aim of England has ever been to raise the inhabitants of India, so that

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they may be prepared to take a part with ourselves in the honourable work of governing their country."

Sir Bartle Frere was a thoroughly Christian man. He himself set an example of the pure life and the consistent aim which Christianity alone enforces with undiminished lustre. He was the constant friend and supporter of Christian missions, the claims of which he was always ready to advocate. We end this brief memoir of a very amiable and pleasing man with a sentence from one of his letters which might well be engraved in the hearts of all the inhabitants of India who love their country, as it clearly shows what light is thrown on true patriotism by genuine Christianity. "The highest form of Christianity," he wrote, "is perfectly compatible with men's love for their country and their people, and with patriotic devotion to that great Empire to which the destinies of India have been entrusted."

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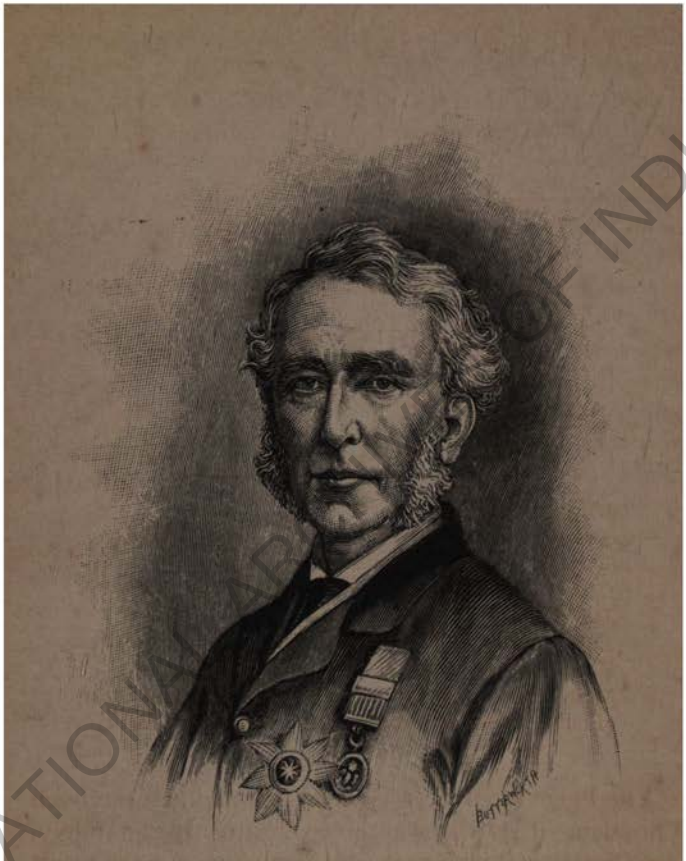

SIR DONALD F. McLEOD.

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CHAPTER IX.

SIR DONALD F. McLEOD:

THE CHRISTIAN GENTLEMAN.

A.D. 1828—1870.

"Land of Five Rivers! flowing to the sea
Through many a fertile tract of waving grain,
Then onward 'mid the drear monotony
Of treeless desert or of sandy plain,
Till sluggish Indus bears them to the main.
Land of the fir-clad hill and snowy crest,
Where Nature rears on high her lofty fane,
With what a glory doth the morn invest
Himalaya's sun-kissed brow, and roseate flushing breast!"

The Pilgrim of India.

THE life of Sir Donald McLeod was that of a thorough Christian. He was one of those who, quietly and simply, did Christian things in a Christian way, and the result was that Hindu, Muhammadan, and Sikh admired and respected him. His father was an officer in that distinguished corps, the Bengal Engineers, and he was born at Calcutta, May 6, 1810. When only five years of age, he was sent from India to the old home of the family in

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the Highlands of Scotland, where he was trained by his grandfather and by two aunts. A little later on, he was sent successively to two schools in the neighbourhood of London, and, finally, while still young, he went to Haileybury, where he was the contemporary of Lord Lawrence, who, after his death, wrote of him in the following affectionate terms: "McLeod, when at College, gave full promise of what he turned out in after-life. He was then a most genial, pleasant, and disinterested friend. He possessed excellent abilities and had received a good education. He worked steadily and took high honours."

McLeod reached Calcutta on December 10, 1828, when he was little more than eighteen, and he set to work at once, with the diligence and energy that had characterized him at Haileybury, in acquiring the necessary knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali. His first appointment was Assistant Collector and Magistrate at Monghir, an important town and district on the Ganges, to the north-west of Calcutta. While pursuing his official duties in this district, an event occurred which had an influence over his whole life, and which gave the key-note to all his thoughts, words, and actions up to the very last moment of his existence on earth. This event, all important as it was to him, was one which would not ordinarily be regarded by most of the world around. It was his conversion to God. Though McLeod had been born of Christian parents, and had outwardly appeared an amiable, a genial, and an unselfish man, anxious to please others, and consistent in his behaviour, yet he was inwardly dispirited and distressed, and the cheerfulness of

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temper, for which he was subsequently distinguished, was entirely wanting. While he was at Monghir, he attended the ministry of a Baptist Missionary. His own description of this change of heart will now be given, as we wish to draw the particular attention of our readers to one sentence in it, which seems to convey accurately the meaning and object of true conversion, that is, the completion or the filling up of the real character and being of a responsible human creature. "For about the last six months," he wrote, "I have felt a change to have been effected in my spirit, towards which I have been gradually inclining for the last three years. This change I have for a long time had a strange conviction must at some time take place in my nature, as I felt it to be necessary to complete the being that God intended me to be." He thus describes the effect of this joyful change on him in the discharge of the ordinary duties of daily life: "I have attained a confidence and tranquillity in regard to my worldly duties, from which the weaknesses of my character formerly debarred me; and I have now been freed from despondency and gloominess of spirits, to which for the previous five years I was continually a martyr." One more quotation from McLeod's letters of this period is given, in order to show the source whence, in most difficult scenes and in most dangerous times, he derived the calm courage and self-reliance which enabled him to act promptly and efficiently. "Prayer," he said, "which was formerly an irksome duty seldom performed, has now become, I may say, almost the only pure pleasure I enjoy. I resort to it in the morning, not only as the most delightful, but as the most necessary,

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act of the day; for without it I should have no peace, no power; and, during the remainder of the day, whatever of difficulty or of annoyance presents itself, my mind flies up to its Creator, and is at rest. The result of this is that I am never harassed for any length of time by anticipations of evil, nor fear of consequences, and am able (which formerly I was not) to obey the direction of our Saviour, not to fear what man can do unto me. My aspect now is consequently always more or less cheerful, which is certainly a visible change."* We have dwelt on this memorable event in McLeod's career at some length, because it cast its sweet and gentle radiance over his whole life.

In the year 1831, McLeod was appointed to the Department for the Suppression of Thuggee, under Colonel Sleeman. Thuggee was an organized system of secret robbery and murder of peculiar malignity with Hindu religious sanction. His head quarters were at Saugor. In the early days of this new department, vigorous efforts were successfully made to extirpate this abominable crime. The existence of it had given an indescribable terror to travellers, especially in Northern and Central India, and the extirpation of it has proved one of the chief benefits of the English rule in India.

It was, however, less to McLeod's taste than the more direct administration of the country to which he had hitherto been accustomed, and it was with pleasure that he heard of his being transferred to officiate as

* *Sir Donald McLeod, a Record of Forty-two Years' Service in India*, by Major-General Edward Lake. Religious Tract Society, 1874, p. 18.

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Collector or Commissioner of Seoni, a district in the Saugor and Nerbuda Territories. These territories were ceded to the English Government at the conclusion of the great Pindari and Mahratta war in 1818, and are now in the Central Provinces of India. The district of Seoni is situated between Jubbulpore and Nagpore. The highlands of the Satpura range, to the south of the noble river Nerbuda, and the source of that river is to be found at a beautiful spot in the east of the district some 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, which is one of the sacred localities of the Hindus. Some parts of this district are luxuriantly fertile, and the lovely slopes of the mountains are clad with soft green pasturage, admirably adapted for cattle. These hills are inhabited by the Gonds, who are a simple-minded aboriginal race, in whom McLeod took the deepest interest. He took a great fancy to the district and the people. He had been there scarcely a year when he wrote that he had determined to cast in his lot entirely with them. "I look upon my lot as fixed in this country—a land of wondrous interest, albeit at present sunk in the darkness of night. My hopes, my fears, my sorrows, and my joys are, in a great measure, concentrated in this land, where I contemplate leaving a heritage to my posterity. Most humbly would I offer my thanksgiving to God that I am enabled to form such a resolve, without estranging myself from the land of my fathers, for which my affection only increases with the increase of my interest in the people amongst whom I have been sent."*

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 34.

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After three years' service in this beautiful part of the country, McLeod returned to Saugor, on this occasion in charge of the district. He had declined this appointment, still wishing to remain among the Gonds, to whom he had become so peculiarly attached; but he was loyally ready to obey orders, and in accordance with them, proceeded to Saugor. He had also declined no less than four appointments in other parts of the country, all of them being more advantageous from a pecuniary point of view. His reason for this was his love for the people, and it deserves to be recorded to shew the disinterested views of this genuinely simple-minded man, and as an example to other young Civilians. "I have deemed it prudent to decline these offers," he said, "and to maintain my position in that part of the country in which an acquaintance of seven years has inspired me with a deep interest; while I have attained a much more considerable intimacy with the people, their manners, &c., than I can possibly possess as regards any other part. Further, I have long been satisfied that our system of procedure and our policy generally towards the people in those parts of the Company's dominions which have been longer in our possession, are characterized by a degree of harshness which contrast unfavourably with the more mild and beneficent system which prevails in this part; and this consideration has had, I believe, the most important share in determining me, if possible, to pass the whole of my Indian career in these Nerbuda territories."*

McLeod looked forward, however, to the appoint-

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 36.

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ment of Principal Assistant Commissioner of Jubbulpore, to which his former district of Seoni was subordinate, and, in 1840, his desire was gratified. While at Jubbulpore, he was able to carry into effect a plan which had gradually been formed in his mind of commencing a Christian Mission among the Gonds. He had long felt that the simple habits of this primitive race afforded an admirable field for Christian effort, and he had, for some time past, endeavoured to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Christian people at Calcutta and elsewhere in this cherished project. He had written a long and interesting article on this subject in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, in which he endeavoured to prove that the best plan was to start an Agricultural Mission Settlement among them. As no Missionary Society was willing to take up this idea, he acted upon it himself, and applied to the well-known Pastor Gossner, of Berlin, who sent out to him a little company of German artisans and husbandmen to work among the Gonds. They were placed under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Loesch, who had been previously labouring in Canara. They arrived at Jubbulpore in 1841, and soon proceeded to the highlands, making their central station at the village of Karanjia, near the source of the Nerbuda. They lived in a very primitive style, and laboured with their own hands in building their little houses, saying, when remonstrated with, that they had come to India not to be ministered unto, but to minister. McLeod, who himself bore all the expenses of the Mission, paid a visit to the spot, and was delighted with what appeared to be the happy commencement of favourable mission work among the Gonds in an almost European climate.

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A few weeks later, however, this pleasing prospect was over-clouded. During McLeod's absence from Jubbulpore through ill-health, all but two of the self-denying company were carried off by cholera, and the Mission had to be abandoned. The two survivors were tenderly cared for, during McLeod's absence, by his friends, and eventually removed to Nagpore, where McLeod maintained them as long as they were able to labour in the cause of Christ. Though this particular Mission had thus, in the Providence of God, to be abandoned, his interest in the spiritual welfare of the Gonds was not in vain. The principle which he sought to uphold has now been generally accepted. It has been admitted that the aboriginal races of India form a peculiarly favourable field for Christian effort, and Missions have since been established among the Gonds and other kindred tribes.

The time had now come when McLeod was to leave the district which he so much liked, and the people whom he so sincerely loved. The events of 1842 and 1843 in Afghanistan had deeply stirred all India, and disturbances had arisen in Saugor and Bandelkand. The new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, was under the impression that this was primarily due to defects in the administration of these Provinces, and he gave direction for their complete reorganization. This necessitated the removal of some of the officers who were serving in them, among whom was McLeod. There is no doubt that, if he keenly felt his leaving the people, they also were grieved at his departure. His memory is cherished among them to the present day. He was transferred to the North-West Provinces, where he was appointed Collector and Magis-

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trate of Benares by James Thomason, who always regarded him as one of his most valued subordinates. There was, indeed, a striking affinity of mind and thought between these two good and able men. McLeod was six years in authority at Benares, during which he effected great improvements in the municipal and police arrangements of that great city, and was enabled to secure a perceptible diminution in crime. His services there were unhappily interrupted by a severe illness, and he was compelled in 1845, after seventeen years' continuous residence in India, to go for change of air and scene to the Cape of Good Hope. He there lived with one of his sisters and her husband, and thoroughly enjoyed the rest and relaxation and literary leisure which this holiday afforded him. Quite restored to health by the invigorating climate, he returned to his work at Benares at the beginning of 1847. After two years' further hard and conscientious labour in the sacred city of the Hindus, he was selected to occupy a high official position in a perfectly different part of India to any in which he had hitherto served.

The Province of the Punjab had recently become a portion of the British territories. The Jallandhar Division had been occupied after the first Punjab war, and McLeod's friend, John Lawrence, was its first Commissioner; but, on the annexation of the entire Province, Lawrence was transferred to a seat on the Board of Government, and McLeod was selected to succeed him in the Jallandhar division. McLeod served in this division as Commissioner for five years, and it is only stating the truth in a few words, when we say that, in that time, he thoroughly endeared himself to all,

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whether European or Sikh. Two officers, who afterwards became very distinguished men, were Deputy Commissioners under him, namely, Sir Herbert Edwardes and Sir Douglas Forsyth. While diligent in administering the affairs of the division, he seems to have given his attention more particularly to the subjects of education and of public works. In the former he so deeply interested himself that he was mentioned by name, with that of Robert Montgomery, in a despatch from the Court of Directors, in which the warmest thanks of the Court were given to them and other officers for their exertions in this direction. "That those gentlemen," it was added, "have, amidst their other arduous and more pressing duties, been able to direct so large a portion of their attention to the promotion of education, affords to us fresh evidence of their energy and zeal, and of their desire to identify themselves with the feelings and interests of the people committed to their charge."*

While interesting himself heartily in the matter of education, McLeod was also in a position to exercise what must have been an hereditary predilection, namely, the taste for engineering. His principal achievement in this direction was the construction of an admirable road from Jallandhar to Kangra, the two largest bridges in which were built under his immediate supervision. It is pleasing to place on record, while we are endeavouring to realize McLeod's quiet and useful life in Jallandhar, the impression regarding him which was made on his Assistant, Sir Herbert Edwardes, after he had been

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 90.

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living with him for a time. "He is a rare and excellent character," wrote Sir Herbert to a relative in England, "one whose life is one even career of duty to God and man, and whose mind and heart do not apparently contain one selfish thought or feeling. He is by nature blessed with at once the best of intellects and the kindest of dispositions; and an industry of study, stimulated by the desire to be useful, has given him a range of knowledge on all subjects bearing upon the welfare of the people of India, such as I do not know that I ever saw equalled. Yet few people hear of him, and in the noisy world the ripple of his gentle stream of goodness is altogether drowned, but it fertilizes, nevertheless."* When Sir Herbert Edwardes left Jallandhar, McLeod spoke highly of his services there, and, in thanking him for the kind words he had used, Sir Herbert expressed in a sentence the reason why he had so highly appreciated them. "We know," he said, "how high a standard you judge by, and how sincerely you speak and write. I know, too, that your heart is in the welfare of the people; and, therefore, that, if you are pleased with my work, the work itself has been for the people's good."

In April, 1854, McLeod received the appointment of Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, and he removed to the capital of the Province. He lived there on terms of intimacy with his two friends, John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery. He also became deeply attached to the daughter of the latter, who, on October 10, in the same year, became his wife. A few months of happy married

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 85.

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life ensued. It was, however, of only too short duration. So pure-minded and holy a man was sure to make a most tender and attached husband; but, as all Christian men desire, he was careful not to abuse the happiness which had been bestowed upon him, and not to allow any human being, however deeply loved, to usurp the place in his heart that One alone should hold. "I feel," he wrote at that time, "as if my cup were too overflowing, and that my chief care must now be to make no idol for myself here, nor allow myself to regard as my rest those earthly joys, however pure and hallowed, which are only given as a solace upon our pilgrimage." Mrs. McLeod died at Dharamsala, a lovely resort in the Himalayas, and he bore this heavy affliction with meek and noble submission. Alluding to her removal, he wrote: "The remembrance of her is, and will ever continue to be, altogether hallowed, and will inspirit me, I trust, to loftier aspirations for the future."*

Such aspirations nerved him to pass unruffled during the very trying time of the Great Military Mutiny. In the early days of that appalling event, Lord Lawrence lived in the same house, and especially noted his serene and resolute bearing. He was a source of strength and support to all who were engaged in the arduous task of maintaining order in the Punjab, and in the defence of the Empire.

In 1859, when the neck of the Mutiny had been broken, McLeod returned to his native land after an absence of more than thirty years. He thoroughly enjoyed his stay in England. He did not regard this

* *General Lake's Memoir*, pp. 101, 2.

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season of recreation as a mere holiday; but he considered it his bounden duty to devote himself to such studies, and to see such objects, as would tend to make him more efficient than ever in the discharge of his official duties, so that he might return to India with a fresh store of knowledge, as well as of health, to be devoted to the service of the Government and of the country. One little act of kindness he often performed, that is, visiting the relatives and children of friends in India, whom he cheered by giving them tidings fresh from home. He returned to India in November, 1860. On arrival in the Punjab, he found the people suffering from the effects of a terrible famine. McLeod was appointed President of a Relief Committee, which had been organized for the relief of the sufferers. He threw himself with spirit into the beneficent work of feeding the starving, and alleviating the general distress.

After a few years of labour in his old position as Financial Commissioner, McLeod, in January, 1865, received the honour of being appointed by Lord Lawrence, then Governor-General of India, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, succeeding in that position his father-in-law, Sir Robert Montgomery. We cannot forbear quoting one passage from a letter written at this period, January, 1865, as it shows clearly the humble and Christian spirit with which he entered on the duties of his responsible office. "Truly, when I look back on the past and the present, how can I but feel amazed, and, I may add, penetrated with conflicting feelings, in which humiliation bears a large part, that one so full of weaknesses and failings should have been elevated to such a post—a post in which the strong and vigorous Sir John

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Lawrence won his first renown—the post which Sir Robert Montgomery has graced during the last six years by virtues rarely combined in one individual, and which has been filled by these with an ability, energy, and success, which render the task of their successor doubly onerous and responsible? In my consciousness of weakness, and in the prayers of good men, lies my only strength; and well do I know, deeply do I feel, that if I should ever cease to look above for guidance and for strength, I must fail. God grant that it may never be so. I have felt much more solemnized than gratified by the position in which I find myself. But one source of unmixed gratification, has been the hearty manner in which my accession has been hailed by a host of kind friends throughout the Province, European and Indian. The nomination has been made, I doubt not, in a prayerful spirit, by Lord Lawrence, who is a God-fearing man. It has been accepted, I trust, in the same spirit; and I will not allow myself to doubt that it has been brought about in the decrees of an all-wise Ruler, for the welfare of this very interesting Province."* Arduous work undertaken in such a spirit must be successful in the highest sense. He was created a Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1866. Sir Donald McLeod's administration was a true success. Happily he had not to govern during a stormy period of transition or of tumult. It was a time of tranquillity and peace, and his triumphs were the victories of peace and not of war. He was very energetic in developing the industrial resources of the Province, in promoting engineering

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 117.

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projects in the shape of roads, railways, and canals, in urging on the people the benefits of education, and in stimulating them to self-government by taking a part in municipal management themselves.

Just as his administration was drawing to a close, Sir Donald McLeod was requested to remain in office a few months longer in order that he might receive at Lahore His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, who was about to visit India, the first member of the Royal Family of England that had paid a visit to this interesting portion of Her Majesty's dominions. Others have since happily followed his example. He was thus enabled publicly to express the loyalty of the Sikh Chieftains to the Crown. In June, 1870, Sir Donald laid down the reins of government, and left the Punjab amidst the sincere regret of all classes of the community. Several memorials to commemorate the esteem and affection of all classes were founded, among which was a fellowship in the University of Lahore, which he had himself established.

Sir Donald McLeod, at the close of his tenure of office in the Punjab, returned to England in 1870, and joined lovingly in those works of religion and benevolence, in which many retired Anglo-Indians delight. He attended meetings and lectures, he frequented Committees, and visited the poor in their homes of squalor and distress. On November 28, 1872, he was hastening to preside in the drawing-room of a gentleman at Hampstead at a meeting for the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, now called the Christian Literature Society for India, a Society for which he entertained a peculiar partiality, when he

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met with a severe accident that cost him his life. He had hurried to one of the underground stations, and attempted to enter a train which was just starting, when he was knocked down and seriously injured. He was at once conveyed to St. George's Hospital. It was considered necessary to amputate the left arm, but he had not sufficient strength to recover from the operation. Serene and happy as had been his life, so also was death. "He was told," says one who was present, "that he was dying, to which he only replied, 'Is it really so? I don't feel very ill.' He was asked if we might engage in prayer, to which he said he should like it, as far as he could collect his thoughts. We then knelt, commending him in earnest prayer to God, to which he gave a hearty 'Amen.' He lay silent for some time; not a murmur escaped his lips; and he retained the same placid countenance throughout. Presently I said, 'I have no doubt you can say, "Into thy hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O LORD God of truth."' He replied, 'Most certainly.' 'And you can say, "Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus."' (Psalm 31. 5: Rev. 22. 20). He repeated the text, adding 'I shall then be free from sin and sorrow, and for ever with the Lord.' He engaged in prayer, almost inaudibly; but the last sentence was, 'Praised be His holy name for ever and ever.' These were his last words. A few minutes, and he ceased to breathe. I shall never forget the silence, the solemnity, the holy calm of that dying hour of the believer." Thus peacefully fell asleep one of whom it has been said "Wherever he went his presence was like sunshine; and

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the sunshine was the reflection of another Presence—even of Him of whom it is said, 'In thy presence is fulness of joy.'" (Psalm 16. 11).*

We have thus attempted to sketch the life of one whose Christianity shed a radiance over everything he did. It influenced his mind, his studies, his intellect, his intercourse with the people of India. A Brahman, who afterwards became a Christian, owned that he attributed his conversion to the example and acts of Sir Donald McLeod. "It was the pious example of this gentleman," he acknowledged, "his integrity, his honesty, his disinterestedness, his active benevolence, that made me think Christianity was something living—that there was a living power in Christ. Here is a man in the receipt of Rs. 2,000 or 3,000 a month. He spends little on himself, and gives away the surplus of his money for education—the temporal and spiritual welfare of my countrymen. This was the turning-point of my religious history, and led to my conversion."† The same writer made the following observations on the character of Sir Donald McLeod at a later period, and they have all the greater weight as coming from the pen of one who, himself a converted Hindu, owed so much to Sir Donald's example. "Sir Donald McLeod," he wrote, "by his large sympathy, identified himself with the people of India as one of themselves—the bone of their bones, and the flesh of their flesh, and thus afforded the best security that could be given for the stability of the British power; since the ascendency acquired by genuine Christian kindness is far

* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 133. † *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

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more lasting than that obtained by mere energy or physical force." The affection which he inspired in the hearts of the people is shewn by the grateful remembrance retained of him by the Gonds. In the Punjab he was called by the Sikhs an angel, and there is still extant a picture in which he is portrayed surrounded by the Maharaja Ranjit Sing and his successors, rendering homage to him. His best memorial consists in the broad marks for good which he has left behind him, and by which the whole Province has benefited.

We have already mentioned the deep interest Sir Donald McLeod took in the education of the people. One of his suggestions for the furtherance of this cause, namely, that liberal grants in aid for sound knowledge in Mission Schools should be given by Government, was apparently taken from him, and embodied in the memorable Educational Despatch of 1854, which has been the ground-work of recent advances in this direction. In the minute in which this suggestion occurs, are the following wise and sensible words: "I would by no means advocate that Government should depart from its strictly secular character; but where really sound instruction in secular matters is imparted, I would encourage it; and it is time, I think, that we should show that the Christian religion will not be discountenanced by us, though abstaining from all attempts, as a Government, to interfere with the religious persuasion of any."

But his one great hope was that India might become a Christian country, and he was never ashamed to avow this deep-seated aspiration. He believed that true Christianity can do more for a people than anything

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else. The following are some of the sentiments to which Sir Donald gave utterance after his return to England, and which are well worth consideration now when the fruits of "godless education" are being so abundantly brought forth in India. "The great question of the day is," he said, "what direction is the intellectual development of India to take? It is one we cannot evade; and, seeing what an important and responsible charge devolves upon England in respect to her dependency of India, it is most incumbent on all our countrymen, but especially on all Christ's followers, to lend every assistance in their power towards guiding this development into healthy channels. The English in India are, however, but a handful. They do comparatively little themselves, and it is to this great country, with all her wealth, knowledge, learning, and appliances, that India must look for adequate aid. I venture to hope that a large increase may be made in the amount of contributions to missionary work in that vast country."

Sweet and beautiful as the character of Sir Donald McLeod must have been, it must not be supposed that it was perfect, absolute perfection not being attainable in this world, even by the best. There was one defect, which ought to be mentioned, so that his character may be completely understood, and this was dilatoriness. It was occasioned by no desire of ease or by indecision; but rather from a sincere endeavour not to send forth any of his productions in an imperfect condition. He was anxious to produce a finished painting, to use an illustration, rather than an incomplete sketch. This led to delay in giving judgements and in issuing minutes, which, in a country like India, where delay in adminis-

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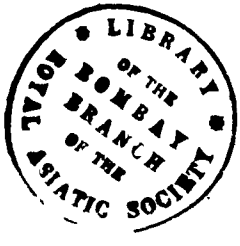
tering justice, frequently leads to practical injustice, is most lamentable. Lord Lawrence, who was the very reverse, playfully called him "the delayer." Much as he appreciated Sir Donald's ability, he felt that, if he firmly resolved never to postpone anything that could be disposed of at once, nothing further could be desired in him.

This was, however, a mere spot in the sun. The example of Sir Donald McLeod's life shed a genial warmth around him, fulfilling the truth of his own family motto, "*Luceo, non uro*," "I do not burn, I shine." His example was of infinite benefit to many, European and Hindu. "I owe to his example and words and conduct more than I owe to any living man," wrote one who had been officially connected with him for many years; and a Hindu made the following remark regarding him, in which, though there is some Oriental hyperbole in it, there is much truth: "If all Christians were like Sir Donald McLeod, there would be no Hindus or Muhammadans,"* thus proving the truth of Lord Lawrence's pregnant saying, "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate men of other creeds."



* *General Lake's Memoir*, p. 23.

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